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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

SARACENS.

CONTAINING

The LIVES of *Abubeker*, *Omar*, *Othman*, *Ali*, *Hasan*, *Moawiyah* I. *Yezid* I. *Moawiyah* II. *Abdolla*, *Merwan* I. and *Abdolmelick*, the immediate Succeſſors of MAHOMET.

1645

Giving an Account of

Their moſt remarkable BATTLES, SIEGES, *&c.* particularly thoſe of *Aleppo*, *Antioch*, *Damaſcus*, *Alexandria*, and *Jeruſalem*.

36504

ILLUSTRATING

The Religion, Rites, Cuſtoms, and Manner of Living of that Warlike People.

Collected from the moſt authentic Arabic Authors, eſpecially MSS. not hitherto publiſh'd in any European Language.

By SIMON OCKLEY, B.D.

Vicar of *Swaveſey* in *Cambridgeſhire*, Profeſſor of *Arabick* in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, and Chaplain to the Right Hon. ROBERT Earl of OXFORD and Earl MORTIMER.

VOL. I.

THE THIRD EDITION.

CAMBRIDGE,

Printed for the ſole Benefit of Mrs. ANNE OCKLEY, by Permiſſion of HENRY LINTOT, Eſq;

M.DCC.LVII.

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AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

Arabians or *Saracens*,

OF THE

LIFE of *MAHOMET*,

AND OF THE

MAHOMETAN RELIGION.

TO

THE REVEREND

Dr. *Henry Aldrich*,

DEAN of *Chriſt-Church* in *Oxford*,

AND

One of Her MAJESTY's Chaplains in Ordinary.

SIR,

IT would have been a great Breach of Good Manners and Gratitude in me, not to have returned this little Book to that Place to which it is chiefly due: To *Oxford* I mean, to which we

a owe

owe that Incomparable Archbiſhop *Laud*, whoſe inexhauſtible Bounty has furniſhed the *Bodleian* Library with ſuch a vaſt Plenty of the Beſt Oriental Authors, thoſe particularly which I have here made uſe of in this ſlender Performance: To which we owe, beſides a Multitude of Learned Men and Eminent Promoters of Eaſtern Learning, the Great Dr. *Pocock*, to whoſe Learned Labours how much we are indebted can never be too frequently repeated.

Since therefore upon theſe Accounts, I could do no leſs than ſend it to Your Famous Univerſity; To whoſe Hands ſhould I commit it rather than to Yours, Sir, whoſe Dignity, Learning, and extreme Courteſy to all, eſpecially Strangers and Scholars, entitle you juſtly to the utmoſt Reſpect?

I have the greater Reaſon to hope, Sir, that this Attempt of mine will not be unacceptable to you, from the Senſe which you were pleaſed to expreſs, when you honoured me with your Learned Converſation at *Oxford*, of the great Defect in the preſent Accounts of Oriental Affairs. I declare ſincerely, that it grieves me to the Heart, to ſee the Intent of Noble Benefactors ſo diſappointed: To ſee Men, otherwiſe Learned, contenting themſelves with the moſt Trifling Legendary Accounts of things which deſerve to be handled by the ableſt Pens, and if they read *Paulus Venetus*, *Jacobus à Vitriaco*, *Poſtellus*, &c. think they have exhauſted whatever is worth knowing of thoſe Matters. What Pity it is, that we ſhould content our ſelves with Jejune Accounts at ſecond hand, and live upon Glean-

ings in the midſt of a plentiful Harveſt!

How would it rejoice me to ſee *Albochâri*, *Ebn Chalecân*, *Meidâni*, *Tabari*, *Mircond*, and other eminent Oriental Authors correctly publiſhed, and take their Places in the Studies of the Learned! It would be altogether impertinent in me to repreſent to a Perſon of your comprehenſive Genius and Knowledge, what poor Accounts we have had hitherto of the *Circaſſian Mamalukes*, *Jenkîz Kaan*, *Hulácu*, *Tamerlane*, nay even of the *Holy War* itſelf, in which the Europeans found to their Coſt, that they were but too much concerned. And not to confine our ſelves to Mahometan Authors, what Satisfaction muſt it be to ſee the moſt Learned of the Eaſtern Jews (who have written in Arabick) publiſhed in a Language more in-

intelligible to *Europeans?* What an inexpreſſible Delight would it afford to a Chriſtian Divine to be throughly acquainted with the Eaſtern Liturgies, the whole Rites and Cuſtoms of the Eaſtern Chriſtians, not only Orthodox, but *Neſtorians*, *Eutychians*, &c. as they are now in uſe? And how agreeable would it be to obſerve, that notwithſtanding their Difference among themſelves, they all concur unanimouſly againſt our Schiſmaticks?

Not to trouble you, Sir, with expatiating too tediouſly upon this Topick, I ſhall only crave leave to add, that I have preſumed to preſent you with this little Book, as a Token of ſincere Reſpect. I make no Apology to you, Sir, for the Imperfections of this poor Performance; knowing you to be a Perſon of ſuch a generous Spirit, that in a

thing which is well intended, however unſucceſsfully performed, your Sagacity cannot be ſo quick in diſcovering a Fault, but your Candour is more ready to excuſe it,

I am,

SIR,

Your moſt humble Servant,

Swaveſey,
Auguſt 16,
1708.

SIMON OCKLEY.

THE

PREFACE.

THE ARABIANS, *a People as little taken Notice of by the Greek and Roman Authors, as could well be ſuppoſed, conſidering their Nearneſs, and the Extent of their Country, have, ſince the time of* Mahomet, *rendered themſelves ſo very conſiderable, both by their Arms and Learning, that the underſtanding their Affairs ſeems no leſs, if not more neceſſary than the being acquainted with the Hiſtory of any People whatſoever, who have flouriſhed ſince the Declenſion of the Roman Empire: Not only becauſe they have had as great Men, and performed as conſiderable Actions, as any other Nation under Heaven; but, what is of more Concern to us Chriſtians, becauſe they were the firſt Ruin of the Eaſtern Church.*

It might reaſonably have been expected, that the Greeks, who bore the greateſt ſhare of that grievous Calamity, and whoſe Vices and Diviſions, it is to be feared, brought it upon the Chriſtian World, ſhould have taken particular Care to have

given a juſt Account of it. Whereas, on the contrary, they have been as jejune and ſparing in this Particular, as any tolerable Hiſtorian could have been ſuppoſed, relating Matters at a much greater diſtance. Not to enumerate a Catalogue of their Defects, I ſhall content my ſelf with producing the Words of an [5] *ingenious Author, who was very well aware of the Imperfections of the Greeks with relation to this Hiſtory, and fully expreſſes the true Senſe of that Matter in theſe Words:* This *(ſays he)* in Subſtance is the Account of thoſe Wars, and the Beginning of the Saracenical Empire, left us by the Grecian Writers of that Age, who are juſtly to be accuſed for their Succinctneſs and Obſcurity, in a Subject that deſerved to be more copiouſly handled; for undoubtedly it muſt needs have been various as well as ſurprizing in its Circumſtances, containing no leſs than the ſubduing whole Nations, altering antient Governments, and introducing a new Face of Affairs in the World. *There is nothing more juſt than this Obſervation, and what lame Accounts muſt we then expect from thoſe who compile Hiſtories of the* Saracens *out of the* Byzantine Hiſtorians?

[5] Continuation of *Eachard*'s Roman Hiſtory, Vol. 2. p. 304. at the Year of our Lord 637.

I was no ſooner convinced of this, but, having, by the Study of their Language, fitted my ſelf in ſome Meaſure for the reading their Authors, I had a great Deſire to attempt the communicating ſome Part of this hitherto unknown Hiſtory to the World; being equally affected with Wonder and Concern, that, conſidering the Multitude of Learned Men which the laſt Age produced, it ſhould have been ſo long neglected. But I conceive the Reaſon of that to have been, becauſe thoſe very few who were Maſters of the Arabick Learning have been otherwiſe employed, and ſpent their Time in paving the way for Poſterity, by publiſhing ſuch Books as were abſolutely Neceſſary in order to the attaining a Competent Skill in that Difficult Language: Others, who have not been ſufficiently acquainted with that Nation, have entertained too mean an Opinion of them, looking upon them as meer Barbarians, which miſtaken Notion of theirs, has hindered all further Enquiry concerning them.

As for thoſe Great Men who firſt reſtored that learned, copious and elegant Language in this laſt Age to us Europeans; I mean Erpenius, Giggeius, Golius, Sionita, *and our incomparable Dr.* Pocock; *it is not to be expreſſed how much we are indebted to them for their Learned Labours, without which the Arabick Tongue would ſtill have been inacceſſible to us. But ſince there*

are

are other Perſons of a quite different Taſte, who, for want of due Information, have conceived a wrong Opinion of the Arabians; *it will not be amiſs, before we give a particular Account of our preſent Undertaking, to ſpeak ſomething concerning that People.*

Before Mahomet's *time they were Idolaters. They were always a Warlike People, ſeldom being at Peace either with one another or their Neighbours. They were divided into two ſorts; ſome of them living in Towns and Villages, others having no fixed, ſettled Habitations, lived in Tents, and removed from one part of the Country to another, according as their Neceſſities compelled, or Conveniencies invited them. Their chief Excellency conſiſted in Breeding and Managing Horſes, and the Uſe of Bows, Swords and Lances: Their Learning lay wholly in their Poetry, to which their Genius did chiefly incline them.* MAHOMET *and his Succeſſors ſoon rooted out Idolatry, and united thoſe jarring Tribes in the Profeſſion of that new Superſtition, which he pretended to have received by Inſpiration from God, delivered to him immediately by the Angel* Gabriel.

For about Two Hundred Years, little elſe was minded but War, except what concerned the Interpretation of the Alcoran, *and the Sects and Diviſions among themſelves upon that Account, which daily multiplied and increaſed upon them:*

But

But there was, as yet, no Curioſity of enquiring into Foreign Learning, nor deſire of being acquainted with the Arts and Sciences. At laſt, in Almamôun's *Reign, who was the twenty ſeventh after* Mahomet, *and was inaugurated* Caliph *in the* [4] *One Hundredth and Eighth Year of the* Hegirah, *Learning began to be cultivated to a very great Degree, Mathematicks eſpecially and Aſtronomy: And in order to promote it, that Noble* Caliph *ſpared no coſt, either to procure ſuch Greek Books as were ſerviceable to that Purpoſe, or to encourage Learned Men to the Study of them. Nor did the Sagacity and Application of that ingenious penetrating People in the leaſt diſappoint the Deſigns of their munificent Benefactor; their Progreſs in Learning, after they had once entered upon it, ſeeming no leſs wonderful than that of of their Conqueſts; for in a few Years time they had Plenty of Tranſlations out of Greek, not only Mathematicians and Aſtronomers, but Philoſophers, Botaniſts and Phyſicians. Which Love of Learning was not confined to the Eaſtern Parts, but diffuſed throughout the whole Dominions of the* Saracens, *being firſt carried into* Africa, *(where they erected a great many Univerſities) and from thence into* Spain: *ſo that when Learning was quite loſt in theſe Weſtern Parts, it was reſtored by the Moors, to whom what Philoſophy was un-*

[4] A.D. 813.

derſtood

derſtood by the Chriſtians was owing. Greek not being underſtood in this Part of the World till the taking of Conſtantinople *by the* Turks, *which was in the Year of our Lord One Thouſand Four Hundred and Fifty Three. At which time ſeveral Learned Greeks eſcaping with their Libraries, and coming Weſtward, that Language was reſtored: Our former Philoſophers and Schoolmen having contented themſelves with Latin Tranſlations, not only of* Averroes, Alpharabius *and* Algazâli, *and other Mahometan Authors, but alſo of* Ariſtotle *and other Philoſophers, which Tranſlations of Greek Authors were not made out of the Original Greek, but out of the Arabick Verſions which were immediately tranſlated from the Greek.*

Had they, after having taken the Pains to learn the Greek Tongue, with equal Care applied themſelves to the Hiſtorians, as they did to the Philoſophers; and ſtudied Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, *and ſuch other Maſters of correct Writing as that Language could have afforded them; we might have expected from them a Succeſſion of Hiſtorians worthy to write thoſe great Actions which have been performed among them. But they never turned their Thoughts that way, ſtudying Greek only for the ſake of the Sciences, and not valuing either that or any other Lunguage in reſpect of their own. Which, though it muſt be granted,*

granted, is extremely fine and copious, ſo as to afford Words ſufficient to treat handſomely upon any Subject whatſoever, is not ſufficient of it ſelf, any more than any other Language, to make a Man an Author. There being a manifeſt Difference between Language and Stile, inſomuch that a Man may write in the beſt Language in the World, and uſe the moſt proper and ſignificant Words in that Language, and at the ſame time not be fit to be read. For beſides Propriety of Expreſſion, there muſt a Juſtneſs and Exactneſs (not only with reſpect to the Choice of Materials, but to the Compoſition) ſhine through the whole, which is not to be attained without being well acquainted with ſuch Authors as are excellent that way.

The great Eſteem which I have for the Eaſtern Learning, makes me heartily wiſh that we had not too much Cauſe to complain of our Arabick Hiſtorians, as to this Particular; who for the aforeſaid Reaſon have deprived us of a great deal of the Pleaſure, and ſometimes Profit, which we might otherwiſe have expected from the reading them; They not having regard to the due Qualifications of an Hiſtorian, but telling things after a careleſs manner, and ſtuffing their Works with a great many trifling Materials, at other times jingling upon Words, and to ſhow the Copiouſneſs of their Language, and Variety of Expreſſion,

ſpinning

ſpinning out a ſlender Matter of Fact into a long Story. So that it is a Work of Difficulty to follow or compile theſe Authors, which nevertheleſs deſerves very well to be undertaken, and will abundantly recompenſe the Pains, at leaſt of the Reader.

For in theſe Authors is contained an Account of all the moſt remarkable Actions done in the Eaſt and other Parts far above One Thouſand Years. During which ſpace of Time Aſia *and* Africa *have been the Scene of as great Performances as ever they were in the Time of the Roman Empire, to which that of the Saracens was, in many reſpects, equal. And certainly it is a great deal of Pity, that we have not theſe things more enquired into, eſpecially ſince they may be ſo eaſily come at. Were our Ignorance invincible, it would be excuſable, but ſince ſo many Noble Benefactors have furniſhed us with ſuch Variety of excellent Authors in this Kind, why ſhould we ſtarve ourſelves in the midſt of Plenty?*

It were moſt heartily to be wiſhed, that we had a Compleat Hiſtory of the Affairs of the Eaſt, eſpecially to the Fall of the Saracenical Empire. It would be very well worth obſerving, how Learning firſt came in, grew and increaſed among the Saracens; *and what Great Men they have had among them; all which would be very well comprehended in a Hiſtory of the* Caliphs *or Succeſſors*

of

of Mahomet, *of which I here preſent the Reader with a* Specimen.

I ought indeed to have begun with the Life of Mahomet, *but that is already written by the Reverend and Learned Dr.* Prideaux, *now Dean of* Norwich;* *in which Life, beſides what does immediately concern* Mahomet's *Perſon, there are interſperſed other things Neceſſary to be known (by any Perſon that is deſirous to be acquainted with the Hiſtory of the Eaſt) which I have not repeated in my Book, but ſuppoſed to be already known to the Reader: Proceeding to write the Lives of the three immediate Succeſſors of* Mahomet, *in which the Reader will plainly ſee by what Steps, and from how ſmall Beginnings, that once contemptible People roſe to ſuch a formidable Greatneſs.*

In order to proſecute my Deſign, after I had made ſuch a Draught out of Elmakîn, Abu'l-pharagius *and* Eutychius, *as the Scantneſs of my Materials would afford, I was obliged to go to the* Bodleian *Library, which is, without queſtion, the beſt furniſhed with Oriental Manuſcripts of any in* Europe. *For beſides a great Number of the beſt Authors purchaſed by the Univerſity of* Oxford, *out of the Studies of Dr.* Hyde, *Dr.* Hun-

* That Life being very imperfect, it was judg'd a proper Compliment to the Subſcribers to this Edition of Mr. *Ockley's* Hiſtory, to improve it with a new one.

tington,

tington, *aud Dr.* Pocock, *not to mention Mr.* Samuel Clark's, Gravius's *or* Selden's, *there is an invaluable Collection given by that incomparable Prelate and Martyr of Bleſſed Memory, Archbiſhop* Laud; *of whoſe great Virtues it would be ſuperfluous to ſay any thing here, they being ſo well known and admired by all that know how to ſet a juſt Value upon Learning and Piety.*

But his princely Munificence in being at that prodigious Expence to reſtore Oriental Learning in theſe Northern Climates, both by purchaſing ſuch an excellent Collection of Authors in that kind, and encouraging Men of Abilities to apply themſelves that way, cannot, without the greateſt Ingratitude, be paſſed by in Silence, by any one that has any due Regard to Oriental Learning. It was among the Manuſcripts of that Reverend Prelate that I found the [5] *beſt Copy of that Author, which I have here endeavonred to make ſpeak Engliſh, and of whom I am now going to give an Account.*

His Name is Abu Abdo'llah Mohammed Ebn Omar Alwákidi. *At what time he lived I have not yet found any Information, nor could I, by the diligent Reading of him, make any Obſervation by which I could give a probable Gueſs. Perhaps the*

[5] MSS. *Laud.* Num. A. 118.

pub-

publiſhing an Author without giving an Account of his Age, may ſeem to ſome Readers to require an Apology; but I would deſire ſuch to conſider, that the Caſe is not the ſame in theſe Studies as it is in Greek *and* Latin: *In which there is ſuch Plenty of excellent Editions of moſt Authors eaſy to be come at; and ſuch Numbers of Critics, Dictionaries, Chronologers and copious Indexes; that a Man (though no great Scholar) that does but know how to make uſe of a Book when he has it, may be almoſt ſure of finding what he looks for. But, alas! the Caſe is vaſtly different here; we have but juſt as it were learned the Alphabet, and if we will know almoſt any thing further than the Rudiments of the Language, we muſt look for it in duſty Manuſcripts, without Tranſlation, without Index; deſtitute altogether of thoſe Helps which facilitate other Studies.*

However, though I cannot preciſely fix his Age, it is moſt certain that he lived above two hundred Years after the Matter of Fact which he relates. For pag. 313. *he mentions* Almotáſem *the* Caliph, *whoſe Reign began in the Year of our Lord* 833. *and if ſo, 'tis the ſame thing as if he had lived ſix hundred Years after. For that Author that lives one thouſand Years after any Matter of Fact, is as much a Witneſs of it, as he that lives but at two hundred Years Diſtance. They are both of them obliged to take upon truſt, and if there be no*

Loſs of good Authors during that Interval, he that writes lateſt is as credible an Hiſtorian as the firſt.

Beſides, the Particulars relating to the firſt riſe of Kingdoms and Empires are generally obſcure. The Reaſon of which is, becauſe Arms take Place firſt, and a Government muſt be well eſtabliſhed, before Learning can get room to breath in it. Wherefore in theſe Caſes, it is allowed by all, that thoſe Accounts which have been handed down from time to time, and received by the beſt Judges, ought to be looked upon as Authentick; nor was there ever any Perſon yet that enquired after the Age of Livy, *in order to know how far he might be accounted a competent Relator of what was done in the Reigns of* Romulus *and* Numa Pompilius.

In theſe Caſes it is, as that excellent Author very well obſerves, Famæ rerum ſtandum eſt, ubi certam derogat vetuſtas fidem: *When a long Interval of time has ſet things at too great a Diſtance, we muſt be content with the current Report, and reſt ſatisfied with the beſt Account we can get. However, that Author conſults his own Reputation, and his Readers Satisfaction moſt, who does not without Diſtinction ſet down every thing he meets with, but uſes as much Caution as the Circumſtances of the Matter will admit. Our Author* Alwákidi *has not been wanting in this Particular. Sometimes he uſhers in a Story after this manner:*

manner, I have been informed by a credible Perſon. *In another Place he ſays*, "We are informed by *Moſes Ebn Aſem*, who had it from *Jonas Ebn Abdo'llâh*, who had it from his Grandfather *Abdo'rrahmân Ebn Aſlam Arrábii*, who was in the Wars of *Syria**. *In that Place where he gives an Account of* Derar *and ſome others, who were put into Cheſts at* Arreân, *he ſays*, "I was informed by *Ahmed Almatîn Al-jorhami*, who had it from *Raphâa Ebn Kais Alámiri*, who had it from *Saiph Ebn Jabalah Alchátgami*, who had it from *Thabet Ebn Alkamah*, who ſaid he was preſent at the Action. *Theſe Expreſſions*, (*not to inſinuate that they may afford a Hint to gueſs at the Age of the Author*) *are moſt evident Proofs that he was as careful as he could, neither to be impoſed upon himſelf, nor to deceive his Reader. And though there are a great many ſuch like Expreſſions diſperſed throughout his whole Work, yet I have not thought fit to intermix them in the Hiſtory, becauſe it is ſuch a different way from what we are uſed to. However, I thought it neceſſary to give a Taſt of it here for the Vindication of my Author. And certain it is, that ſuch things as theſe, nay of leſs Conſideration, were thought a good Defence of* Herodotus *againſt* Plutarch's *Objections, by no leſs a Perſon than the Learned* Harry Stephens.

* Pag. 214.

Alwákidi's

Alwákidi's *Deſign was not to write the Life of any particular* Caliph, *but to give an Account of the* Conqueſt of Syria. *I ſhould have been very glad if he had given me an Opportunity of comparing him with ſome noble* Greek *or Latin Hiſtorian, but his manner of Writing will not allow it. He is chiefly valuable for this, that we find Materials in him which we have no where elſe, and he is not ſo ſparing of them, but there is Liberty enough to pick and chuſe. How I have ſucceeded in this Performance I muſt ſubmit to the Judgment of the Learned Reader; only taking the Liberty to ſay, that though I have not tranſcribed my Author in every Particular, yet I have done him no Injury in any thing that I have related; nor have I taken a Liberty of Writing careleſly, in hopes of being ſecure from Diſcovery (the Language not being generally underſtood) but have uſed the ſame Diligence as I would have done, were I ſure that every one of my Readers would inſtantly have collated my Book with the Manuſcripts.*

The Archbiſhop's Copy which I chiefly uſed is 250 *Years old; being written in the Year of the* Hegirah 863. *of our Lord* 1458. *There is another Copy of it among Dr.* Pocock's MSS. D'Herbelot *ſays there is one in the King of* France *his Library, which are all that I know of in* Europe.

I have, as Occaſion ſerved, made ſuch Uſe of other Authors that were for my purpoſe, as the Shortneſs of the Time I could allow my ſelf at Oxford *would permit.* Alwákidi *writ alſo a Hiſtory of the Conqueſt of* Ægypt, *which I have not met with; otherwiſe my Account of that Matter might have been more compleat. All that I can ſay is, that I have done what I could; and if this ſmall Beginning ſhall be a means to excite any Perſon of greater Abilities and more Opportunity, to bring to light any Part of the Eaſtern Hiſtory, I ſhall have Reaſon to think my Time very well ſpent.*

SIMON OCKLEY.

N. B. That in the Arabick Words, *j* Conſonant and *ou* are pronounced as in *French.*

A Chronological Table for 35 Years.

Years of the Julian Period.	Years of Christ, reckoning from the first day of January.	Years of the Hegirah or Flight of Mahomet, with the days of the Month on which they begin in the Solar Year.	Grecian Emperors.	Saracenical Caliphs.
5335	622	1. *July* 16	HERACLIUS. 13	
6	623	2. *July* 5	14	
7	624	3. *Jun.* 24	15	
8	625	4. *Jun.* 13	16	
9	626	5. *Jun.* 2	17	
5340	627	6. *May* 23	18	MAHOMET. 1
1	628	7. *May* 11	19	2
2	629	8. *May* 1	20	3
3	630	9. *April* 20	21	4
4	631	10. *April* 9	22	5
5345	632	11. *March* 29	23	ABUBEKER. 1
6	633	12 *March* 18	24	2
7	634	13. *March* 7	25	OMAR. 1
8	635	14. *Feb.* 25	26	2
9	636	15. *Feb.* 14	27	3
5350	637	16. *Feb.* 3	28	4
1	638	17. *Jan.* 23	29	5
2	639	18. *Jan.* 12	30	6
3	640	19. *Jan.* 2 / 20. *Dec.* 21	31	7 / 8
4	641	21. *Dec.* 10	32	9
5355	642	22. *Nov.* 30	Constantine *reigns 4 Months*, Heracleonas 6, CONSTANS *Son of* Constantine. 1	10
6	643	23. *Nov.* 19	2	OTHMAN. 1
7	644	24. *Nov.*	3	2
8	645	25. [illegible] 28	4	3
9	646	26. *Oct.* 17	5	4
5360	647	27. *Oct.* 7	6	5
1	648	28. *Sept.* 25	7	6
2	649	29. *Sept.* 14	8	7
3	650	30. *Sept.* 4	9	8
4	651	31. *Aug.* 24	10	9
5365	652	32. *Aug.* 12	11	10
6	653	33. *Aug.* 2	12	11
7	654	34. *July* 22	13	12
8	655	35. *July* 11	[illegible]	ALI. 1

A Chronological Table for 35 *Years.*

Remarkable Actions or Accidents.

Y. H.	
1 2 3 4 5	*Mahomet* overpowered at *Meccah*, flees to *Medinah*. This ſame Year *Ali* marries *Phatemah*, *Mahomet*'s only Daughter. In the Second Year of the *Hegirah* was the Battle of *Beder*.
6 7 8 9 10	*Mahomet* is inaugurated by his Followers, and made Supream in all Matters both Sacred and Civil. The ſame Year there was a Truce made between the *Coraſhites* and *Mahomet*. In the 7*th* Year *Mahomet* takes *Chaibar*, where *Zeinab* a Jewiſh Young Woman gave him the Poiſon of which he died. The *Coraſhites* breaking the Truce, *Mahomet* goes againſt them with 10000 Men, and takes *Meccah*. *Maſeilamah* pretends to Prophecy. *Mahomet* goes his laſt Pilgrimage to *Meccah*.
11 12 13 14 15	*Mahomet* dies at *Medinah*, and is buried in *Ayeſha*'s Houſe. *DAMASCUS* taken. *Baalbec* taken. *Baſora* and *Cufa* are walled by *Omar*'s Command. The great Battle at *Yermouk*.
16 17 18 19 20 21	*JERUSALEM* ſurrendered into the Hands of the *Saracens* by *Sophronius*. The *Perſians* are beaten. *Antioch* taken. *Abu Obcidah* dies of the Plague at *Emeſus*. *Amrou Ebno'l Aas* invades *Egypt*. *Iſpahan* taken by the *Saracens*.
22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	*OMAR* is killed. [the Hands of the *Saracens*. *Yazdejerd*, the laſt of the *Perſian* Kings is killed: All *Perſia* falls into
32 33 34 35	About this time the *Saracens* began to complain of *Othman*, who to appeaſe them, ſet *Mahomet* Son of *Abubeker* into the Lieutenancy of *Ægypt*, inſtead of *Abdo'llah Ebn Saïd*. *Othman* is killed, and *Ali* ſucceeds him.

A TABLE of the Months both in the Julian Solar, and the *Arabian* Lunar Year, with the Days collected.

	Roman Months.	*Days of the Months.*	*Days collected*	*In Biſſextile.*	*Arabian Months.*	*Days of the Months.*	*Days collected.*
1	*January,*	31	31	31	Moharram,	30	30
2	*February,*	28	59	60	Saphar,	29	59
3	*March,*	31	90	91	Rebíyah *the Firſt,*	30	89
4	*April,*	30	120	121	Rebíyah *the Second,*	29	118
5	*May,*	31	151	152	Jomâda *the Firſt,*	30	148
6	*June,*	30	181	182	Jomâda *the Second,*	29	177
7	*July,*	31	212	213	Rejeb,	30	207
8	*Auguſt,*	31	243	244	Shaabân,	29	236
9	*September,*	30	273	274	Ramadân,	30	266
10	*October,*	31	304	305	Sjewâl,	29	295
11	*November,*	30	334	335	Du'lkaadah,	30	325
12	*December,*	31	365	366	Du'lhhegjah,	29	*354

* In that Year which is Intercalated (of which there are 11 in every 30, *viz.* 2, 5, 7, 10, 13, 15, 18, 21, 24, 26, 29.) *Dulhagjah* has 30 Days.

The *Arabian* Year being Lunar, runs through the Solar Year, as the Reader may obſerve in the foregoing Chronological Table. See Dr. *Prideaux*'s Life of *Mahomet*, p. 85.

THE

THE
LIFE of *MAHOMET.*

THOUGH our author had good reaſon to take but little notice of the actions of *Mahomet*, becauſe the life of that impoſtor had, but a few years before, been publiſhed by the learned Dr. *Prideaux*; yet, as the preſent impreſſion of the *Saracenic* hiſtory will probably fall into the hands of many perſons who have not an opportunity of reading that excellent work, it is thought proper to premiſe a ſhort account of the *Arabians*, the principal agents in the tranſactions hereafter related, of *Mahomet* and the progreſs of his arms which paved the way for the atchievements of his ſucceſſors, and of that falſe religion founded by him, which has ſince overſpread ſo great a part of the earth. Thoſe who are deſirous to be more fully informed of theſe matters may, beſides Dr. *Prideaux* and the authors quoted by him, have recourſe to the books of later date mentioned in the margin[a].

The *Arabians*, who are alſo by the greek, and in imitation of them, by latin writers, called *Saracens*, are divided by their hiſtorians into three claſſes: 1. The primitive *Arabians* who inhabited *Arabia* immediately after the flood: of theſe nothing now remains but the names of their tribes, as *Adites*, *Thamudites*, &c. and ſome traditional

[a] *Maraccii* prodromus, et refutatio Alcorani: *D'Herbelot* Bibliotheque Orientale: *Relandus* de religione Mohammedica; *Abulfeda* de vita & rebus geſtis Mohammedis, cum verſione et notis *Joannis Gagnier*: La vie de Mahomet par *Gagnier*: *Sale's* preliminary diſcourſe and notes upon the Coran.

ſtories of their puniſhment for not hearkening to the prophets ſent to reclaim them; which ſtories how fabulous ſoever, have not only ſerved to furniſh the *Arabian* poets with ſubjects and alluſions, but are mentioned in a ſerious manner by *Mahomet* in the *Alcoran*,[a] in order to deter his followers from diſbelieving his miſſion, and rejecting his doctrine. 2. The ſecond claſs are the pure *Arabians*, deſcended from *Kaktan* or *Joctan* the ſon of *Heber* ſpoken of *Gen.* 10. 25. The *Arab* hiſtorians make *Joctan* the father of two ſons, not mentioned in the bible, or mentioned under different names: one of them called *Yàarab* they ſay was the father of the *Arabs* who inhabited *Yaman*, or *Arabia Felix*; and the other ſon *Jorham*, ſettled in the province of *Hejaz*; hither they tell us *Abraham*, upon *Sarai*'s complaint, carried *Iſmael*, who married *Ra'ala* the daughter of the twelfth king of the *Jorhamites*: by whom he had twelve ſons. From theſe and their poſterity intermarrying with the pure *Arabians* ſprang the *moſt Arabes* or mixt *Arabians*, called *Iſmaelites* and *Hagarens*: this does not agree with the ſcripture, which tells us, the mother of *Iſmael* took him a wife out of the land of *Egypt*, Gen. 21. 21. But here I would have it once for all obſerved, that we ſhall often find the *Arab* writers give different accounts of perſons and things from what we meet with in the ſacred hiſtory: they had no ancient writings; their memorials of ancient times were delivered

[a] *Coran* ſignifies a book, *Al* is the *Arabic* article *the*; however, as the word *Alcoran* has been adopted long ſince into all the European languages as well as the Engliſh, I have retained it here.

down

down to them by tradition[b], they are beſides much given to fable; no wonder then they deviate ſo from the truth: thus they tell monſtrouſly abſurd ſtories of *Adam* and *Eve*: they mention *Noah*'s flood, but inſtead of eight, as the ſcripture informs us, pretend eighty perſons were ſaved in the ark: they will have it that it was not *Iſaac* but *Iſmael* whom *Abraham* was about to offer, *&c.* in general, though *Mahomet* profeſſed great regard for the old and new Teſtament, he miſerably corrupted the hiſtories of them both, by fables; ſome of which are borrowed out of the Jewiſh *Talmud*, others from ſpurious authors, and ſome probably were forged in his own brain, or that of his aſſiſtants.

The *Arabs* are now, as they were in ancient times, of two ſorts; ſome of them inhabit towns, maintaining themſelves by their flocks, agriculture, the fruit of their palm-trees, by trade or merchandiſe; others live in tents, removing from place to place, as they find graſs and water for their cattle, feeding chiefly upon the milk and fleſh of camels, a diet which is ſaid by an Arabian phyſician to diſpoſe them to fierceneſs and cruelty[c]: theſe latter, though ſtrictly juſt among themſelves, often commit robberies upon merchants and travellers; and excuſe themſelves by alledging the hard uſage of their progenitor *Iſmael*, and think they have a right to indemnify themſelves, not only upon the poſterity of *Iſaac*, but alſo upon every body elſe who falls in their way: the *Arabs* were, before the time of *Mahomet*, divided into ſeveral tribes; each tribe had a king or head: they were often

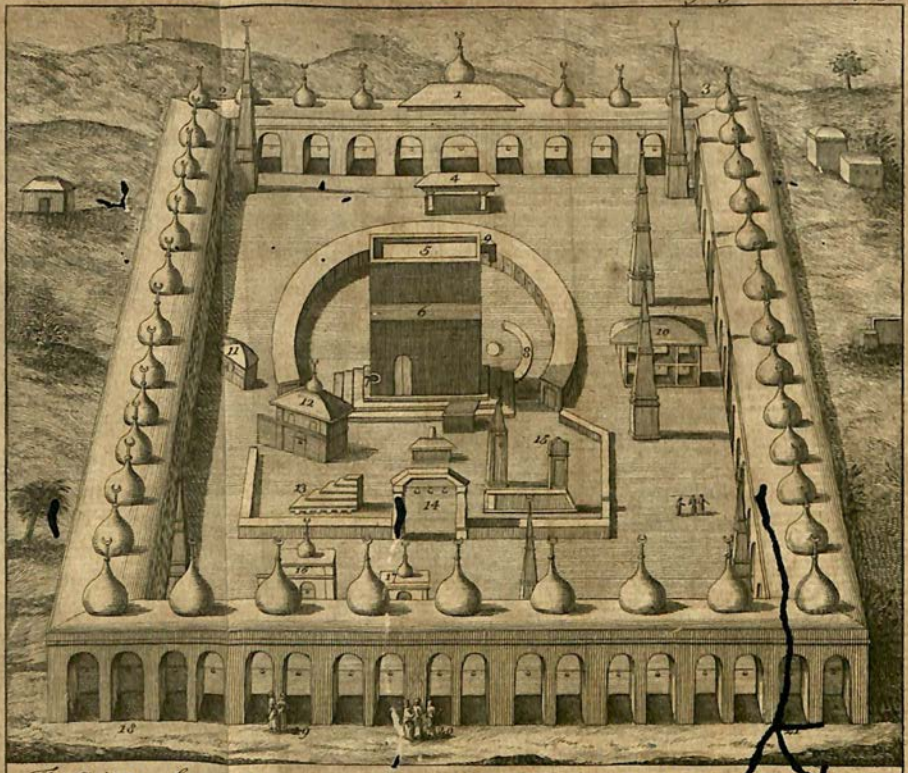
[b] *Pocock.* Specim. Arab. Hiſtor. pag. 55. [c] Idem. p. 88.

at war with one another: a farther account of them may be ſeen in our author's preface.

The religion of the ancient *Arabians* their traditions derived from *Abraham* and *Iſmael:* by them they pretended was built the temple of *Mecca*, from its form, called the *Caaba* or Square; this was their *Kebla*, or place towards which they turned their faces when they prayed, as the *Jews* turned theirs towards the temple of *Jeruſalem*. The *Caaba* was held by them in great veneration, as it is alſo by the preſent *Mahometans:* they are perſuaded it is almoſt coeval with the world, for they ſay that when *Adam* was caſt out of Paradiſe, which they place in the ſeventh heaven, he begged of God that he might erect upon earth a building like that he had ſeen the angels go round in heaven; upon which a repreſentation of that houſe in curtains of light was let down, and placed at *Mecca*, directly under the original, that he might go round it, and turn his face towards it when he prayed: that, after *Adams* death, *Seth* built the *Caaba* of ſtone and clay, in the ſame place; which, being deſtroyed by the deluge, was rebuilt by *Abraham* and *Iſmael*. The *Caaba* has been ſeveral times rebuilt or repaired; it is a ſquare ſtone building, the length whereof from north to ſouth is 24 cubits, the breadth from eaſt to weſt 23, and the height 27 cubits: the door is on the eaſt ſide, the threſhold is four cubits above the ground, ſo that, there being no ſteps[a] adjoining to it, the who come to worſhip may touch the threſhold

[a] There are moveable ſteps to uſe when the Caaba is to be cleaned, or the lamps lighted up therein.

with



The CA'ABA, from a M.S. in the Bodleian Library in Oxford, M.S. Laud. D. No. 150.

1. Middle Gate
2. Gate of the Sacrifices
3. Gate of Visitation
4. Station of Malekites
5. The Ca'abah
6. The border of Gold
7. The black stone
8. Abraham's Tomb
9. The Golden spout
10. Shafeites Station
11. Hanbalites Station
12. The Well Zemzem
13. The Steps
14. Abraham's Station
15. The pulpit
16. The place where ỹ golden Cup is kept
17. The Treasury
18. The Gate of Ali
19. Gate of Al Abbas
20. Gate of the Prophet
21. Gate of Peace

with their foreheads, or kiſs it: *the Black Stone* is a ſmall ſtone ſet in Silver and fixt in the ſouth-eaſt corner of the *Caaba*, about four feet from the ground; the *Mahometans* hold it in great reverence, believing it to be one of the ſtones of Paradiſe, which fell down with *Adam* from heaven; it is ſaid to be white within, but to have been turned black on the outſide by the ſins of the people, more probably by the kiſſes of the pilgrims. Upon the ground on the north-ſide of the *Caaba* there is a ſtone called *the ſepulchre of Iſmael*; there is another ſtone called *the ſtation of Abraham*, which they ſay was made uſe of by him for a ſcaffold, and roſe higher with him as the walls of the building roſe; and that, after he had done building, he ſtood upon it and prayed, and left the prints of his feet thereon. The *Caaba* is ſurrounded, though not entirely, at a little diſtance, by an incloſure of pillars, joined at the bottom by a low baluſtrade, and towards the top by bars of ſilver; juſt without this incloſure, are buildings made uſe of for oratories, by different ſects of *Mahometans*, there is alſo *the Treaſury*, and a ſmall edifice over the ſacred well *Zemzem*. All theſe buildings are, at a conſiderable diſtance, incloſed in a magnificent colonade covered with ſmall cupolas, and at the four corners there are as many ſteeples adorned with gilded ſpires and creſcents; as are alſo the cupolas: between the pillars of both incloſures hang a great number of lamps, which are conſtantly lighted up at night.[a]

[a] The print of the *Caaba* is from *Gagnier*, *Sale* has one a little different, but does not ſay from whom he took it.

The *Caaba* is ſupported by pillars of aloes wood, between which hang ſilver lamps: the rain water runs off the roof in a ſpout of gold, the walls on the outſide are covered with a rich black damaſk adorned with a band of gold, this covering is changed every year, at the expence of the Turkiſh emperor; this is properly the temple, but the whole territory of *Mecca* is held ſacred, and diſtinguiſhed by ſmall turrets, ſome at ſeven, and others at ten miles diſtance from the city: within theſe precincts it is not lawful to attack an enemy, or even to hunt or fowl.

Mahomet, or as his name is pronounced in Arabic *Mohammed*, was born at *Mecca* an ancient city of *Arabia*, about the year of our Lord 571, for hiſtorians do not agree about the preciſe year: he was of the tribe of *Coreiſh*, the nobleſt of that part of the country: the *Arab* writers make him deſcended in a right line from *Iſmael* the ſon of *Abraham*; but do not pretend to any certainty in the remote part of his genealogy: it is enough for our preſent purpoſe to ſay that the preſidency over the *Caaba*, and what went with it the government of *Mecca*, which had been ſome time in the tribe of the *Coreiſhites*, came to *Haſhem* the great grandfather of *Mahomet*, whoſe deſcendants were from him called *Haſhemites*; after his death it went to his ſon *Abdo'l Motalleb*, who had thirteen Sons, I ſhall here ſet down their names, becauſe we ſhall meet with ſome of them in the following hiſtory. *Abdolla*, *Hamza*, *Al Abbas*, *Abu Taleb*, *Abu Laheb*, *Al Gidak*, *Al Hareth*, *Jahel*, *Al Mokawam*, *Dorar*, *Al Zobeir*, *Kelham*, *Abu Caaba*. The eldeſt of them *Abdolla* is ſaid to have been

been his father's favourite, upon account of the integrity of his behaviour, and the comelineſs of his perſon, he married *Emina*, of the tribe alſo of the *Coreiſhites*, by whom he had *Mahomet*: upon his marriage, no fewer than two hundred young damſels who were in love with him are ſaid to have died in deſpair. It ſhould be obſerved here that the *Mahometan* hiſtorians are often very extravagant in their accounts of perſons and things that have any relation to their falſe prophet: *Abu'l Feda* one of the graveſt of them tells us of four miraculous events that happened at his birth: 1, That the palace of *Coſroes* king of *Perſia* was ſo ſhaken, that fourteen of the towers thereof fell to the ground. 2, That the ſacred fire of the *Perſians* which had been kept inceſſantly burning for 1000 years went out all at once. 3, That the lake *Sawa* ſunk. 4, That the river *Tigris* overflowed its banks: and that *Coſroes*, alarmed by theſe prodigies and by a dream of the high prieſt of *Perſia*, which ſeemed to forebode ſome calamity would be brought upon them by *Arabia*; ſent for a famous diviner to enquire what theſe prodigies portended: the anſwer was, that fourteen kings and queens ſhould reign in *Perſia*, and that then what was to come to paſs would happen. Some legendary writers on this occaſion relate a great many more wonderful things, enough to ſhock the belief of the moſt credulous; they may be ſeen in *Maracci*, I ſhall give only two of them as a ſample of the reſt. 1, That *Mahomet* came into the world ſurrounded with a light which not only illuminated the chamber wherein he lay, but the whole country alſo round about: 2, That as ſoon

as he was born he fell upon his knees, and bending all except his two fore-fingers, lifted up his hands, and turned his face towards heaven, and pronounced diſtinctly theſe words, *Allah acbar* &c. that is, *God is great: there is no other God but one, and I am his Prophet.*

Abdolla dying while *Mahomet* was an infant, or according to ſome, before he was born, he was by his mother put to a wet nurſe named *Halima*: here again we have more miracles even in *Abu'l-Feda*. His nurſe, while this bleſſed infant was with her, was in greater affluence than ever ſhe had been before, but was one day put in a great fright by her ſon, who came running out of the field, and told her two men in white had juſt then taken hold of *Mahomet*, laid him on the ground, and ripped open his belly; upon this, ſhe and her huſband went out to him, and found him upon his legs, and aſked, what is the matter with you, child? he confirmed the tale of his belly being cut up. Hearing this, the huſband of *Halima* ſaid, I am afraid he has contracted ſome bad diſeaſe: and *Halima* who had before ſhewn herſelf very deſirous to keep the child with her, was now as eager to get rid of him, and carried him home to *Emina*; and being aſked what was the reaſon ſhe had thus changed her mind, ſaid ſhe was afraid the devil had made ſome attack upon him; out upon you, replyed the mother, what has the devil to do to hurt my child? ſome authors tell us, that when the angels ripped up *Mahomet*'s belly at this time they took out his heart, and ſqueezed out of it the black drop, which they believe is the conſequence of original ſin, and the ſource of all ſinful thoughts,

and

and is to be found in the heart of every perſon deſcended from *Adam*, except only the *Virgin Mary* and her ſon *Jeſus*. It is a wonder they did not except *Mahomet* alſo, whom they look upon to be the moſt perfect creature that God ever made; but we ſhall find in the ſequel his heart was not entirely cleanſed from the black drop.

When *Mahomet* was ſix years old, his mother dying, his grand-father *Abdo'l Motalleb* took him into his care, and at his death, which happened two years after, left him in the tuition of his ſon *Abu Taleb*, whoſe buſineſs was merchandiſe; by him he was brought up, and at the age of thirteen went with him into *Syria:* at fourteen years of age, he was with his uncle's kindred in the impious war,[a] where the *Coreiſhites* had the victory; he continued with *Abu Taleb* till twenty five, and then went to be a factor to *Cadigha* the widow of a rich merchant at *Mecca*, who had left her all his wealth: he managed her affairs ſo well, and inſinuated himſelf ſo into her favour, that after three years being in her ſervice, ſhe gave herſelf to him in marriage; and here the legendary writers tell us *Cadigha* fell in love with *Mahomet* upon account of the wonderful things that befel him in his laſt journey from *Boſtra* in *Syria*, ſome of which were related by the ſlaves, ſhe ſent with him, and ſome ſhe ſaw herſelf; particularly, that the angel *Gabriel* carried all the way a cloud over his head, to ſcreen him from the heat of the ſun, in that country very ſcorching: but ſure-

[a] The *Arabs* had four months in which it was not lawful to go to war, this war was in one of thoſe months.

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ly there was no need of a miracle to perſwade a widow of forty-five, that had buried two huſbands, to take for a third a young man of twenty-eight, handſome and agreeable, as *Mahomet* is ſaid to have been.

From the age of thirteen or fourteen to twenty-five, there is very little ſaid of *Mahomet*, except a fabulous ſtory of his being ſeen when very young at *Boſtra* in *Syria* by a monk called *Bahira*, who foretold his future grandeur. But *Boulainvilliers*, who left an unfiniſhed account of his life, has thought fit to fill up that chaſm with inventions of his own; he tells us his uncle *Abu Taleb* during that time, prepared him for the wars he was afterwards to be engaged in, by inuring him to hunting and martial exerciſes: contrary to all hiſtory, he makes him travel into *Syria* at the age of twenty, and not before: he carries him to *Damaſcus*, to *Balbec*, to *Elia* or *Jeruſalem*, and to the capital of *Perſia*, places at which no writer mentions him ever to have been; and he pretends to have taken theſe accounts from *Arabian* authors, but does not name any one: in ſhort, *Boulainvilliers*[a], inſtead of hiſtory, has given the world a kind of politico-theological romance founded upon the life of *Mahomet*, whom he ſuppoſes, in theſe imaginary voyages, to have made ſuch obſervations, and to have furniſhed his mind with ſuch political ideas as enabled him to form thoſe great deſigns he afterwards put in execution.

[a] *Gagnier* ſays he could find no hiſtorians that verify the account given by *Boulainvilliers*; and expoſes the bad deſign he ſeems to have had in view, in the encomiums he laviſhes on the impoſtor and his falſe religion. Pref. au vie de *Mahomet*.

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Whereas the truth of the caſe ſeems to be this; by the advantageous match with *Cadigha*, he found himſelf raiſed to an equality with the principal men of the city; and this might naturally put him upon aiming at the government of it, which had been in his family, and in a regular ſucceſſion, would have come to him; for it fell to his uncle *Abu Taleb*, by his father and grand-father, both dying while he was a minor. From his marriage to near the time of his pretended revelation, all we hear of him is, that by *Cadigha* he had four ſons, the eldeſt was named *Caſem*, upon whoſe birth according to the cuſtom of the *Arabians*, he took the ſurname *Abu'l Caſem*, *i. e.* the father of *Caſem*: his ſons all died in their infancy; his daughters were *Fatema*, *Zainab*, *Rokaia*, and *Omm Colthum*, they were all married, and will be mentioned hereafter, as there ſhall be occaſion.

It is probable he employed himſelf for ſome years in the care of his family, and carrying on his trade; conforming all the while to the idolatrous ſuperſtition of his countrymen: by the chriſtian writers he is ſaid to have been profligate in his morals, (it cannot be expected any Mahometan author ſhould tell us any ſuch thing) however that be, in the 38th year of his life he began to affect ſolitude, retiring frequently into a cave of mount *Hara* near *Mecca*, to ſpend his time in faſting, prayer, and meditation; and is here ſuppoſed to have cooked up ſo much of the Alcoran as he firſt publiſhed. It is agreed on all hands *Mahomet* could neither write nor read; it is evident he borrowed many things from the old and new Teſtament, and from the Jewiſh *Talmud*: his aſſiſtants are ſaid to have been *Abdia* ſon of *Salem* a Perſian Jew,

Jew, and a Neſtorian monk named *Bahira* by the eaſtern, *Sergius* by the weſtern writers. By what here follows out of *Abu'l Feda*, it ſeems probable *Waraka* was alſo in the ſecret, if he did not ſend an helping hand: the impoſtor complains in his Alcoran, chap. 16, that his enemies charged him with being aſſiſted by that *Perſian Jew*, and endeavours to clear himſelf in theſe words: *they ſay certainly ſome man teaches him: he whom they mean ſpeaks a barbarous language; but the Alcoran is in the Arabic tongue, full of inſtruction and eloquence.*[a] As for the monk, he is ſaid to have murdered him, when he had no further occaſion for him. No doubt he took what care he could to conceal his being aſſiſted.

Abu'l Feda after relating his marriage with *Cadigha*, has a digreſſion, wherein he ſpeaks of the prefecture of the *Caaba* going from *Nabet* the ſon of *Iſmael* to the *Jorhamites*, next to the *Cozaites*, and from them to the *Coreiſhites*; and ſays theſe laſt mentioned, having pulled down the temple, and begun to rebuild it, when the walls were got up to the height at which the black ſtone was to be ſet, could not agree which of the tribes ſhould have the honour of placing it: and that *Mahomet* being by, ordered them to ſpread a garment upon the ground, lay the ſtone in the middle of it, and each tribe take hold round the edges and lift it up, which when they had done to the proper height, the prophet took the ſtone and put it into its place. By the manner of relating this tranſaction, the time of it is not any way fixed to this part of his life; an Arab writer cited by *Gagnier* ſays it was when *Mahomet* was a little boy. It is probably only

[a] *Alcoran*, ch. 16.

a fiction invented to raiſe an high opinion of his wiſdom.

The following account is verbatim from *Abu'l-Feda*. 'When the apoſtle of God, whom God 'bleſs,[a] was forty years old, God ſent him to the 'black and the red; (*i.e. to all mankind*) that by 'a new law, he might aboliſh the ancient laws. 'His firſt entrance into this prophetic office was 'by a true night viſion; for the moſt high God had 'inſpired him with a love of retirement and ſoli-'tude, ſo that he ſpent a month every year in the 'cave of mount *Hara*. When the year of his miſ-'ſion was come, in the month *Ramadan* he went 'to his cave with ſome of his family: and when 'the night came wherein the glorious God very 'greatly honoured him, *Gabriel*, upon whom be 'peace, came to him and ſaid *read:* he anſwered '*I cannot read:* he ſaid again *read, in the name of* '*the Lord who hath created*, &c. reciting the words 'as far as, *he taught man what he knew not*, v. 5.[b]

[a] In the *Alcoran* the followers of the impoſtor are forbidden when they addreſs him to call him by his name *Mahomet*, this was too familiar, they are therefore commanded to ſay, O prophet, or O Apoſtle of God. This author never mentions the Apoſtle of God without adding theſe words, *whom God bleſs*, or the initial letters of thoſe words w. G. b. in general the *Mahometan* writers very ſeldom name an Angel, or any perſon whom they think a prophet, or eminent for piety, without adding *peace be to him.* [b] This is generally believed to be the firſt paſſage of the *Alcoran* revealed to *Mahomet*, though it be the beginning of the 96th chap. of that book. It runs thus, as divided into verſes in *Maracci*'s edition. 1. *Read in the name of the Lord, who hath created.* 2. *He hath created man of coagulated blood.* 3. *Read by thy moſt beneficent Lord.* 4. *Who taught by the pen.* 5. *Who taught man what he did not know.* The reſt of the chapter has no connection with the beginning, but is taken up in upbraiding and threatning one of his enemies, ſuppos'd to be *Abu jehel.*

'then

'then the prophet w. G. b. went to the middle of
'the mountain and heard a voice from heaven ſay-
'ing, O *Mahomet* thou art the apoſtle of God and
'I am *Gabriel*, and ſtood ſtill in his place looking
'upon *Gabriel*, till at length *Gabriel* departed, and
'then the prophet w. G. b. went away. Soon after
'he came to *Cadigha*, and told her what he had
'ſeen, ſhe ſaid I am very glad of this good news
'I ſwear by him in whoſe hand the ſoul of *Cadigha*
'is, I verily hope you are the prophet of this na-
'tion: and when ſhe had ſaid this ſhe went to her
'kinſman *Waraka* ſon of *Nawfali*: Now *Waraka*
'had read the books and heard many diſcourſes of
'Jews and Chriſtians, to him *Cadigha* related
'what the apoſtle of God w. G. b. had ſaid: *Wa-*
'*raka* replyed by the moſt holy God and by him in
'whoſe hand is the ſoul of *Waraka*, what you ſay
'is true, *Cadigha*; for the glorious law brought by
'*Moſes* the ſon of *Amran* foretold his coming. No
'doubt he is the prophet of this nation. Then *Ca-*
'*digha* returned to the apoſtle of God w. G. b. and
'told him what *Waraka* ſaid, then the Apoſtle of
'God w. G. b. ſaid a prayer, and went and com-
'paſſed the *Caaba* ſeven times, and then went to
'his own houſe.

'After this, frequent revelations followed one
'after another. *Cadigha* was the firſt of mortals
'that embraced *Iſlam*[c] ſo that no body preceded
'her. In the book called *al Sahih* there is a tradi-
'tion that the apoſtle of God w. G. b. ſaid, a-
'among men there are many perfect; but among

[c] *Mahomet* called his religion *Iſlam*, the word is by *Prideaux* ſaid to ſignify the *ſaving religion*: by *Sale*, reſigning oneſelf to God: by *Pocock*, obedience to God and his prophet.

women

'women there have been but four; *Aſia* the wife 'of *Pharaoh*, *Mary* daughter of *Amran*, *Cadigha* 'daughter of *Cowalled*, and *Fatema* daughter of '*Mohammed*.

We have ſeen that *Cadigha* was the firſt diſciple of *Mahomet*, though ſome authors ſay ſhe did not come in ſo readily as is here related, but for ſome time rejected the ſtories he told her as deluſions of the devil; others ſay ſhe declared ſhe would not believe except ſhe alſo ſhould ſee *Gabriel*; but upon his ſaying ſhe had not vertue enough to ſee an angel, ſhe was ſatisfied, and became a believer. His ſecond convert was his couſin *Ali*, who had lived with him ſome time, and was then not above ten or eleven years old: his third was his ſlave *Zaid*, to whom he gave his freedom; from whence it became a law among the Mahometans to make their ſlaves free, whenever they turn to their religion: the fourth convert was *Abubeker* one of the moſt conſiderable men in *Mecca*, his example was ſoon followed by *Othman* ſon of *Affàn* *Abdol Rahman* ſon of *Aws*, *Saad* ſon of *Abu Wakas*, *Zobeir* ſon of *Al Awam*, and *Telha* ſon of *Obeidolla*, and *Abu Obeida*. Theſe were ſome of the principal men of the city, and were afterwards the generals of his army, and aſſiſted him in eſtabliſhing his impoſture and his empire together in thoſe parts of the world. *Abu'l Feda* ſays, '*Mahomet* 'made his converts in ſecret, for 3 years; after 'which he was commanded to preach to thoſe of 'his tribe; whereupon he ordered *Ali* to invite his 'kinſmen, about 40 in number, to an entertain-'ment, and to ſet before them a lamb and a large 'veſſel of milk. And when they had done eating

'and

'and drinking, he was beginning to preach, but 'being interrupted by *Abu Laheb*, invited them 'to a like feaſt the next day, and when it was over, 'he harangued them in theſe words. I do not 'know any man in Arabia who can make you a 'better preſent than I now bring you, I offer 'you the good of this world, and of the other life; 'the great God has commanded me to call you to 'him: who then will be my *vizir*, (*i. e.* take part 'of the burthen with me) my brother my deputy? 'when all were ſilent, *Ali* ſaid I will; and I will beat 'out the teeth, pull out the eyes, rip up the bel- 'lies and break the legs *of all that oppoſe you*. I will 'be your *vizir* over them. Then the apoſtle of 'God w. G. b. embracing *Ali* about the neck ſaid, 'this is my brother, my ambaſſador, my deputy, 'pay him obedience: at this they all fell a laugh- 'ing, and ſaid to *Abu Taleb*, you are now to be 'obedient to your ſon.

'*Mahomet*, not at all diſcouraged by the op- 'poſition of his tribe, continued to upbraid them 'with their idolatry, and the perverſeneſs and infi- 'delity of their anceſtors and of their nation: this 'provoked them to that degree that they came to '*Abu Taleb* to complain of his nephew, and de- 'ſired him to interpoſe; he gave them a civil 'anſwer, but *Mahomet* perſiſting in his purpoſe, 'they came a ſecond time, and threatned to uſe 'force. *Abu Taleb* ſaid to him, nephew, thus and 'thus have your countrymen ſpoken to me, he, 'imagining his uncle to be againſt him, replyed, 'uncle, if they could ſet the ſun againſt me on my 'right hand, and the moon on my left, I would 'never drop the affair. Well, ſays *Abu Taleb*, tell

'me

'me what anſwer I ſhall give them: as for me I 'will never give you up: and ſwore to it. Then 'the whole tribe conſulted about baniſhing all who 'embraced *Iſlam:* but *Abu Taleb* protected his 'nephew, though he did not come into his new 'religion.' After this, *Hamza* another of his uncles, reſenting an affront that *Abu Jehel* had offered to *Mahomet*, to whom he was a moſt bitter enemy, became one of his proſelytes; as did alſo *Omar* the ſon of *Al Ketabi*, another of the principal men of *Mecca*, who afterwards ſucceeded *Abubeker* in the government: *Omar* was violently ſet againſt the prophet, had girded on a ſword, and was going in ſearch of him with an intent to kill him: by the way, he called in at his own ſiſters, where the twentieth chapter of the *Alcoran* was reading; *Omar* demanded to ſee the book, and upon his ſiſter's refuſal, gave her a violent ſlap on the face, then ſhe gave it him into his hand, upon his promiſe to reſtore it to her again; when he had read in it, he cryed out, *O how fine is this! how I reverence it! I have a great deſire to be a believer:* then aſked where *Mahomet* was, and, being told, went to the apoſtle, who took hold of his cloaths and pulled him forcibly to him, and ſaid, O ſon of *Al Ketabi*; what do you ſtop at? why would you ſtay till the roof of the houſe falls upon your head? *Omar* replyed, I come hither that I may believe in God and his apoſtle: then the apoſtle praiſed God: thus the converſion of *Omar* was compleated.

And now finding he made ſuch progreſs, the *Coreiſhites* ſo perſecuted the followers of *Mahomet*, that he gave leave to as many of them as had no

family to hinder it to leave *Mecca*, which they did, to the number of 83 men and 18 women, with their little ones; and fled to the king of *Ethiopia*: the *Coreiſhites* ſent two perſons with a preſent of ſkins to the king, and deſired him to ſend the fugitives back, which he refuſed to do; and, as the *Mahometan* writers ſay, embraced *Iſlam* himſelf. In the eighth year of *Mahomet*'s miſſion, the *Coreiſhites* entered into a written agreement, that none of them would intermarry with the *Haſhemites*, or have any dealings with them: and put the deed into the *Caaba*, where, it is ſaid, a worm eat out every word of the deed, except the name of God: and that they had a public meeting thereupon, and made void the agreement.

'In the tenth year of the miſſion of the pro-
'phet, dyed *Abu Taleb*; when he grew very ill,
'the apoſtle of God w. G. b. ſaid to him, uncle,
'make the profeſſion which will entitle you to
'happineſs at the day of the reſurrection: *Abu*
'*Taleb* anſwered, ſo I would nephew, if it were
'not for the diſgrace; for if I ſhould do ſo, the
'*Coreiſhites* would ſay I did it for fear of death.
'In his laſt moments he began to move his lips,
'and *Al Abbas*, putting his ear cloſe to them, ſaid
'O nephew, he repeated the words that you ex-
'horted him to ſay: then the apoſtle of God w.
'G. b. ſaid, praiſed be God who has ſo directed
'you, dear uncle.'

Very ſoon after, dyed *Cadigha* alſo: whereupon, *Mahomet*, meeting with more and more oppoſition at *Mecca*, where *Abu Sophyan* his mortal enemy now bore the greateſt ſway, took a journey to *Taif*, a town about ſixty miles eaſt of *Mecca*, wherein

wherein *Al Abbas* another of his uncles often reſided, to try if he could make any converts there; but, having no ſucceſs, returned to *Mecca*, where his followers were greatly mortifyed by the repulſe he had met with.

Mahomet continued his preaching, even at the hazard of his life, ſays *Abu'l Feda*; getting ſometimes among the pilgrims, and calling to them, O ye of ſuch a tribe (which he named) I am the apoſtle of God who commands you to ſerve God, and not to aſſociate any other with him; and to believe and teſtify that I am a true *Apoſtle*. One time he was at a place called *Alkaba*, a mountain north of *Mecca*, where there were ſome pilgrims from *Yathreb*, he addreſſed himſelf to them, and made converts of ſix; who returning to *Yathreb* ſpread his fame there, and propagated *Iſlam* with great ſucceſs.

The chief points of religion which *Mahomet* at firſt inſiſted upon were, beſides ſome moral duties, the unity of God, a reſurrection, and a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments: the profeſſion neceſſary to be made in order to be one of his diſciples conſiſted only of theſe two articles, *there is no God but one*, and *Mahomet is his apoſtle*. The firſt of theſe is in oppoſition, not only to all who worſhip idols, or own a plurality of gods, but againſt the chriſtians alſo, who hold the divinity of our bleſſed Saviour, and the doctrine of the Trinity: the belief of the ſecond article, was the moſt effectual means he could take to prevail on his followers, to ſwallow every thing, how abſurd ſoever, that he ſhould propoſe to be believed, or practiſed by them. He declared that *Iſlam* was

not a new religion, but a reſtoration of the ancient religion, taught and practiſed by the prophets, *Adam*, *Abraham*, *Moſes*, *David* and *Jeſus*, to its original purity. He did indeed purge the religion of the *Arabians*, which in his time was rank idolatry, from ſome groſs abuſes; as *Sabiiſm*, or the worſhip of the hoſt of heaven, the worſhip of idols, and divination: but in order to make his new ſyſtem be the more eaſily received by his countrymen, he retained ſeveral of their old ſuperſtitious obſervances, ſuch as frequent waſhing; the pilgrimage to *Mecca*, with the abſurd ceremonies appendant to it, of going ſeven times round the *Caaba*, throwing ſtones to drive away the devil, *&c.*

The few things he propoſed to their profeſſion and belief certainly made it more eaſy for him to gain proſelytes; the paradiſe he promiſed them was indeed very groſs and ſenſual, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, but very well ſuited to the taſte of the people he had to deal with: the hell he threatened to unbelievers was terrible; and he may be ſuppoſed to have dwelt much upon that ſubject, as it is ſo frequently repeated in the *Alcoran*. By his artful inſinuating addreſs, in which he is ſaid to have exceeded all men living, he ſurmounted all difficulties that lay in his way. At his firſt ſetting out upon his prophetic office, he bore all affronts without ſeeming to reſent them, and when any of his followers were injured he recommended patience to them; and, it is ſaid, for that purpoſe, propoſed the chriſtian martyrs to their imitation. He was obliging to every body: the rich he flattered; the poor he relieved with alms: and by his behaviour appeared the moſt humane friendly perſon in the

the world, ſo long as he found it neceſſary to wear them aſk, which we ſhall hereafter find him, upon ſome occaſions, pull off and throw aſide.

In the tenth year of his miſſion, *Mahomet* gave his daughter *Fatema*, then nine years old, to *Ali* in marriage: the dowry given by *Ali* upon that occaſion was twelve ounces of oſtrich plumes, a thing of ſome value in that country, and a breaſt-plate; all indeed that he had to give [a]: the ſame year, according to *Elmakin*, for authors vary as to the preciſe year of many of his moſt conſiderable tranſactions, *Mahomet*, to ſtrengthen his intereſt, as well as perhaps to gratify his inclination, married *Ayeſha* daughter of *Abubeker*, *Sawda* daughter of *Zama*, and, ſome time after, *Haphſa* daughter of *Omar*: *Ayeſha* was then but ſeven years old, and therefore he did not conſummate his marriage with her till two years after, when ſhe was nine years old, at which age, we are told, women are ripe for marriage in that country. An *Arabian* author cited by *Maracci* [b], ſays that *Abukeker* was very averſe to the giving him his daughter ſo young, but that *Mahomet* pretended a divine command for it: whereupon, he ſent her to him with a baſket of dates: and when the girl was alone with him, he ſtretched out his bleſſed hand, (*they are the author's words*) and took hold of her cloaths, and laid her down; upon which ſhe looked fiercely at him, and ſaid, people call you the faithful man [c], but your behaviour to me ſhews

[a] It ſeems to have been a cuſtom among the *Arabs* for the bridegroom to make a preſent to the father of the bride.

[b] *Marac.* vita *Mahometis*, p. 23. [c] *Abu'l Feda* ſays he was called *Al Amin*, *the faithful one*, when he was young, p. 11.

you a perfidious one; and, compoſing her cloaths, got out of his hands, and went and complained to her father: the old gentleman, to calm her reſentment, told her ſhe was now betrothed to *Mahomet*, and that made him take liberties with her, as if ſhe had been his wife.

The Story of Mahomet's aſcent into Heaven.

The Mahometan writers are not agreed about the time of this tranſaction, nor as to the manner of it, whether it were only a viſion or a real journey. The moſt received opinion is, that it was in the 12th year of his miſſion: and the moſt orthodox belief is, that it was a real journey taken by him: [a] I ſhall give it in the words of *Abu'l Feda*, who took his relation out of *Al Bokhari*. [b] ' *Hodba* ' the ſon of *Caled* ſaid, that *Hamman* ſon of *Jahia* ' ſaid, that *Cottada* had it from *Anas* the ſon of ' *Malek* the ſon of *Seſa*, that the prophet of God ' w. G. b. gave them a relation of his night-jour- ' ney to heaven in theſe words: As I was within ' the incloſure of the *Caaba*, or as he ſometimes ' told the ſtory, as I lay upon a ſtone, behold one ' came to me (*Gabriel*) with another, and cut me ' open from the pit of the throat to the groin: this ' done, he took out my heart, and preſently was ' brought near me a golden baſon full of the water ' of faith: and he waſhed my heart, ſtuffed it, and ' replaced it: then was brought to me a white beaſt ' leſs than a mule but larger than an aſs, I mounted ' him, and *Gabriel* went with me till I came to the ' firſt heaven of the world: and he knocked at the

[a] According to a tradition from *Ayeſha*, it muſt have been a dream, for ſhe ſaid he was in bed with her all that night.

[b] The author of the book of the moſt authentic traditions; an account will be given of him hereafter, p. 30, note *a*.

' door,

'door, it was ſaid to him, who is there? he an-
'ſwered, *Gabriel*, and who is with you? he anſwered,
'*Mohammed:* it was ſaid, has the apoſtle had his
'miſſion? he anſwered, yes: it was ſaid, may it be
'fortunate to him, he will now be very welcome;
'and the door was opened: and behold, there was
'*Adam*, and *Gabriel* ſaid to me, this is your father
'*Adam*, greet him, and I did ſo, and he returned
'it, ſaying, may my beſt ſon and the beſt prophet
'be proſperous. Then he went up with me to the
'ſecond heaven, and knocked at the door, it was
'ſaid to him, who is there? he anſwered, *Gabriel*,
'it was ſaid to him, and who is with you? it was
'ſaid, *Mahommed:* it was ſaid, has the apoſtle had
'his miſſion? he anſwered, yes: it was ſaid, may
'it be fortunate to him, he will now be very wel-
'come: and the door was opened, and behold there
'was *Jahia* (i. e. *John*,) and *Iſa* (*Jeſus*;) and they
'both couſin germans:[a] *Gabriel* ſaid to me, theſe
'are *Jahia* and *Iſa*, greet them, and I did ſo: and
'they both returned it, ſaying, may our beſt bro-
'ther and the beſt prophet be ſucceſsful.' It would be nauſeous to an Engliſh reader to repeat in the ſame manner, as my author does, the knocking at the door, the queſtion and anſwer, the greeting and returning of it, through the following five heavens: it is ſufficient to ſay that *Mahomet* being with *Gabriel* let into the third heaven found *Joſeph* there: *Enoch* in the fourth heaven: *Aaron* in the fifth: *Moſes* in the ſixth: and *Abraham* in the ſeventh: and that when he was near *Moſes*, *Moſes* wept: and being aſked the reaſon of his weeping, ſaid it was becauſe a young man whoſe

[a] Here *Mahomet* was miſtaken, the virgin *Mary* and *Elizabeth* were not ſiſters.

'miſſion was poſterior to his would have a greater 'number of his nation enter into paradiſe than 'there would be of his countrymen. Then I was 'carried up to the tree *Sedrat*, beyond which it is 'not lawful to go, the fruit thereof is as large as 'the water pots of *Hagjira*, and the leaves as big 'as the ears of an elephant: there were alſo four 'rivers; and I aſked *Gabriel* what rivers are 'theſe? he anſwered, two of them run within 'paradiſe quite through it, the other two that run 'on the outſide of it are the *Nile* and the *Euphrates*. 'Then he took me to *the houſe of viſitation*[a] into 'which 70000 angels go every day: then were 'ſet before me three veſſels, one of wine, another 'of milk, and the third of honey: I drank of the 'milk, whereupon *Gabriel* ſaid to me, this is the 'happieſt for thee and thy nation.' *Another tradition adds, if you had choſen the wine, your nation would have ſtrayed from the right way.* 'Laſtly, 'when I came to the throne of God, I was or-'dered to pray fifty times a day. In my return 'from thence, being near *Moſes*, he aſked me what 'I had been commanded to do; I told him to pray 'fifty times a day? and are you able, ſaid he, to pray 'fifty times a day? and ſwore, I have made the ex-'periment among mankind, for I have endeavoured 'to bring the children of *Iſrael* to it, but never 'could compaſs it: go back then to your Lord and 'beg an abatement for your nation, ſo I went back, 'and he took off ten prayers: and coming to *Moſes* 'he adviſed me as before, and I went back again 'and had ten more abated: then coming to *Moſes* 'he repeated the ſame advice; I therefore return-

[a] This houſe is the original whereof a copy was ſent down to *Adam*, as is mentioned before, page 4.

'ed,

ed, and was commanded to pray ten times a day: upon *Moſes*'s repeating what he had ſaid before, 'I went back again, and was commanded to ſay 'prayers five times a day, and when *Moſes* was in-'formed of this laſt order, he would have had me 'go back again to my Lord and beg a ſtill farther 'abatement: I replied, I have ſo often petitioned 'my Lord that I am aſhamed: and ſo ſaying, I 'took my leave of him, and prayed for him.

The foregoing account of *Mahomet*'s night's journey is modeſt, in compariſon of what ſome authors give us, who, from other traditions, add many other wonders; as, that the beaſt *Alborac* would not let *Mahomet* mount, till he had promiſed him a place in paradiſe; that then he took him quietly on his back, and in the twinkling of an eye, *Gabriel* leading him all the way by the bridle, carried him to *Jeruſalem:* that *there* a number of the prophets and ſaints departed appeared at the gate of the temple, ſaluted him, and, attending him into the chief oratory, deſired him to pray for them: that when he came out from thence, there was a ladder of light ready ſet for them, on which *Gabriel* and *Mahomet* went up to the heavens, having firſt tied *Alborac* to a ring, where he uſed to be tied by the prophets who rode him. That beſides what is already mentioned, *Mahomet* in the firſt heaven which was made of pure ſilver, ſaw the ſtars hanging from it by chains of gold, each ſtar as large as mount *Nobo* near *Mecca*, and that in theſe ſtars angels kept watch and ward, that devils might not come near, to liſten and hear what was doing in heaven. As he went farther on, he ſaw a multitude of angels of all manner of ſhapes, which preſided over and interceded for the ſeveral

kinds

kinds of birds and beaſts in whoſe ſhapes they appeared: that, amongſt thoſe of the birds, there was a cock, *the angel of the cocks*, ſo large, that his feet ſtanding upon the firſt heaven, his head reached up to the ſecond, which was at the diſtance of a 500 days journey, according to the common rate of travelling upon earth: and this he makes the diſtance of every one of the ſeven heavens from the heaven next to it in order: others are ſtill more extravagant, and ſay, the head of the cock reached through all the ſeven heavens, up to the throne of God: that his wings which are large in proportion to his height, are deckt with carbuncles and pearls: that every morning when God ſings an holy hymn, this cock joins in it, and crows ſo loud as to be heard by all the creatures upon the earth, except men and fairies: and that upon hearing him all the cocks upon earth crow alſo. That in the ſecond heaven, which was all of pure gold, he ſaw an angel ſo large that his head reached up to the third heaven. The third heaven was all made of precious ſtones, there he found *Abraham*, who recommended himſelf to his prayers: there he ſaw more angels than in either of the former heavens, and one of them of ſo prodigious a ſtature that the diſtance between his two eyes was equal to the length of a journey of 70000 days;[a] this, *Gabriel* told him was the angel of death, who had a table before him of an immenſe bigneſs, whereon he was continually writing down the names of thoſe who were to be born, and blotting out the

[a] Here *Prideaux* obſerves that the diſtance between a man's eyes is in proportion to his height, as 1 to 72. So that the height of this angel muſt have been 4 times as much as the height of all the ſeven heavens, and therefore he could not ſtand in one of them.

names

names of thoſe who were to die. The fourth heaven was all of emerald, therein he found *Joſeph* the ſon of *Jacob*, who deſired him to pray for him: the number of angels was greater in this than in the third heaven; one of them whoſe head reached to the fifth heaven, was always weeping for the ſins of mankind, and the miſeries they thereby bring upon themſelves. The fifth heaven was made of adamant, here he found *Moſes*, who deſired his prayers. The ſixth heaven was of carbuncle, here was *John the Baptiſt*, who begged his prayers. In the ſeventh heaven, which was made of heavenly light, he found *Jeſus*; whoſe prayers he deſired for himſelf: here, ſays *Prideaux*, *Mahomet* changes his ſtyle, and acknowledges *Jeſus* for his ſuperior: *Gagnier* thinks this improbable, as he taught *Jeſus* to be no more than a creature, and pretended that he himſelf was the moſt perfect of all creatures: perhaps it will ſolve this difficulty to obſerve, that this privilege was not yet granted to *Mahomet*. In this heaven were more angels than in all the reſt of the heavens; and among them one a very extraordinary angel, who had 70000 heads, and in every head 70000 mouths, in every mouth 70000 tongues, and every tongue uttering 70000 diſtinct voices, with which he was day and night inceſſantly praiſing God.

Gabriel having brought him thus far, told him he was not permitted to go any farther, and directed him to aſcend the reſt of the way by himſelf; which he did through water and ſnow, and other difficulties, 'till he heard a voice ſay, Mahomet *ſalute thy Creator*. Aſcending higher, he came into a place of that exceeding brightneſs that his

his eyes could not bear it; and there the throne of the Almighty was placed, on the right-ſide whereof was written, *La ellah ellalla Mohammed reſul allah, There is no God but God,* Mahomet *is the Prophet of God:* the ſame Inſcription was alſo upon all the gates of the ſeven heavens. Having approached to the preſence of God, as near as within two bow-ſhots, he ſaid, he ſaw him ſitting upon his throne, with a covering of 70000 veils upon his face: that, in token of favour, he put forth his hand and laid it on him, which was of that exceeding coldneſs as to pierce to the very marrow of his back: that, after this, God talked familiarly with him, taught him many myſteries, inſtructed him in the whole of his law, gave him many things in charge concerning his teaching it, and beſtowed ſeveral privileges upon him, as that he ſhould be the moſt perfect of all creatures; that, at the day of judgment, he ſhould be advanced above all the reſt of mankind, and that he ſhould be the redeemer of all who believed in him. Then returning to *Gabriel*, they went back the ſame way they came, through all the heavens; and, going to *Jeruſalem*, found *Alborac* where he had been left tied, and was brought back by him to *Mecca* in the ſame manner as he had been carried from thence, and all this in the tenth part of a night.

On his relating this extravagant ſtory to the people the next morning after he pretended this had happened, it was received by them, as it deſerved, by a general hoot: ſome laughed at the ridiculouſneſs of it, others were moved with indignation at his offering to impoſe upon them with ſuch an abſurd and impudent lie, and bade him aſcend

aſcend up to heaven before their eyes, and they would believe: and ſome of his diſciples were ſo ſhocked at ſo improbable a fiction, that they left him: but, to prevent farther defection from him, *Abubeker* came and vouched for the truth of all *Mahomet* had related; upon which account he had conferred upon him the title of *Aſſaddick, the juſt man:* but as this was a great ſtumbling-block even to his friends, he, not thinking *Abubeker*'s aſſeveration ſufficient, brings God himſelf to bear witneſs to the truth of the tranſactions of this night's journey in two places of the *Alcoran.*

How abſurd ſoever this ſtory ſeems, *Mahomet* was ſure to find his account in it, if he could but once get it believed; as it would raiſe his authority among his followers to that height, that they could never refuſe to receive any doctrine he ſhould afterwards advance, nor refuſe him obedience, whatever he ſhould think proper to command. And here, beſides the *Alcoran*, or written law, was a foundation laid for an oral law, of the ſame nature with that which the *Jews* have, conſiſting of traditions of ſuch directions as they ſay *Moſes* received, beſides the written law, during his forty days ſtay upon mount *Sinai*, and were by him dictated by word of mouth to thoſe about him; accordingly the *Mahometans* pay as great a regard to many traditions of the ſayings and actions of *Mahomet*, as to the *Alcoran* itſelf: and as the *Jews* have ſeveral books in which their oral law is recited and explained, ſo have the *Mahometans* their *Sunnah*, or tradition; in which the ſayings and doings of *Mahomet*, any way relating to religion or law, are related in the manner ſet down pag. 22, from *Al Bokhari*,

Bokhari [a], ſo as to be carried from the collector of the tradition through ſeveral hands up to one of *Mahomet*'s intimate companions, who had the ſaying from his own mouth; or was preſent at his doing the action related. They have alſo many commentators upon that *Sunnah.*

We may obſerve different traditions give different accounts of the placing the prophets, *Abraham*, *Moſes*, &c. *Gagnier* [b] has a much longer relation of the night-journey from *Abu Horaira*, one of the ſix authors of traditions [c], who had every thing from the mouth of *Mahomet* himſelf: ſome of the principal things not mentioned in the other traditions are theſe; 1, *Gabriel*'s appearing in the form he was created in; his complexion white as ſnow, white hair finely plaited and hanging in curls about his ſhoulders, *&c.* upon his forehead were two plates, on one was written, *There is no God but God*; on the other, *Mahomet is the Apoſtle of God:* he had about him ten thouſand little perfume bags full of muſk and ſaffron: five hundred pair of wings; and from one wing to the other there was the diſtance of a journey of five hundred years. 2, a fuller deſcription of the beaſt *Alborac*; he

[a] This famous Doctor was from *Bokhara* the place of his birth, or his chief reſidence, called *Al Bokhari*. His collection of traditions is of the greateſt authority of all that have ever been made: He called it *Al Sahih*, i.e. *genuine*; becauſe he ſeparated the ſpurious ones from thoſe that were authentic. He ſays, he ſelected 7275 of the moſt authentic traditions out of 100000, which he looked upon to be true, having rejected 200000 as being falſe. *D'Herbelot*, tit. *Bockhari & Al Sahih.*

[b] Vie de *Mahomet.* [c] The ſix perſons from whom the moſt authentic traditions come, are 1, *Ayeſha* the prophet's wife. 2, *Abu Horaira* his particular friend. 3, *Abu Abbas.* 4, *Ebn Omar* ſon of the Caliph *Omar.* 5, *Giaber* ſon of *Abdellas.* 6, *Anas* ſon of *Malok.*

had

had the face of a man, his mane of fine pearls, &c. his eyes two large emeralds, bright as ſtars, &c. two large wings, enamelled with pearls, and precious ſtones, bordered with light: he had an human ſoul, and underſtood what was ſaid, but could not ſpeak; only ſpeech was given to him, at this time, to aſk *Gabriel* to intercede with *Mahomet* that he might have a place in paradiſe, which he promiſed him. 3, *Gabriel* made the prophet ſtop and alight upon mount *Sinai*, and pray with two bowings, and get up again, and go on till he was over *Bethlehem*, and there he was ordered to alight, and ſay the prayer with two bowings. 4, as he went along, he had twice an earneſt call to ſtop; then a young woman finely dreſſed accoſted him, offered her hand, and told him ſhe was entirely at his ſervice: but *Alborac* continued his pace. *Gabriel* afterwards told him, if he had obeyed the firſt call, his nation would all have become Jews; if the ſecond, they would have been Chriſtians: and that the woman who tempted him was the world: and that if he had ſtopt to anſwer her, his nation would have choſen the enjoyment of this world preferably to eternal happineſs, and ſo have been caſt into hell. 5, he met a venerable old man of the fineſt look that could be ſeen; he embraced the prophet tenderly, who returned it; *Gabriel* told him this was *Iſlam*. 6, they went to the temple of the reſurrection (*in Jeruſalem*) and met there a man with three pitchers, one of water, one of milk, the third of wine; *Mahomet*, being ordered to chuſe, drank of the milk; the conſequence of which was that his nation would be directed in the right way, to the day of reſurrection: but hearing,

hearing, that if he had drank it all, none of his nation would ever have gone to hell; he begged he might take the milk again, and drink it all up: but *Gabriel* ſaid, it is too late, the thing is determined. 7, a ladder with ſteps of gold and precious ſtones was placed where *Jacob*'s ladder was ſet, whereon he ſaw angels going up and down; on this *Gabriel* aſcended, hugging *Mahomet* cloſe to his boſom, and covering him with his wings. 8, in the fifth heaven he ſaw an angel ſo large that he could have ſwallowed the ſeven heavens and ſeven earths as eaſily as a pea: and another angel of a moſt frightful aſpect, who was the governour of hell, of which he had alſo a ſight. 9, in the ſixth heaven he ſaw an angel half ſnow and half fire; upon which, he prayed him who could join together things ſo contrary to unite his ſeveral believers, in obedience to him. 10, in the ſeventh heaven the impoſtor has the impudence to ſay, he heard God and one of the angels alternately repeat the profeſſion, *God is one, and Mahomet is his Apoſtle.* 11, *Gabriel* had ſtopped at the tree *Sedrat*, it not being permitted to any angel to go any farther; but, upon *Mahomet* being frighted at his leaving him alone, was ordered to conduct him farther; which he did, till he came to a ſea of light, up to the angel who preſided over it: then this angel took him and carried him to another ſea of light, where another angel preſided, of ſuch a ſtature, that if every thing created in heaven and earth were put into his hand it would be but as a grain of muſtard ſeed in a large field.

Then he was carried to a large black ſea, and, going a ſhore, paſſed by ſeveral different choirs of angels,

angels, till he came to *Aſraphel*, an angel with a million of wings, and a million of heads; in every head a million of mouths, *&c.* he ſupported the throne of God on the nape of his neck: *Mahomet*, being bidden to look up, ſaw upon the throne every thing that is contained in heaven and earth, in epitome. 10, beſides the angel of the cocks before mentioned, he ſaw angels of ſuch gigantic ſtature, that the diſtance from the center of the earth to the ſeventh heaven would not equal the height of their ancles. Then he was conducted by a retinue of 70000 angels within the 70000 veils; and, the laſt veil of the *unity* being lifted up, ſaw ſeventy millions of angels proſtrate, adoring the ſupreme being; beſides ſeventy thouſand more, who had the care of the veils. There was a profound ſilence, when a voice ſaid, *Mahomet* come near the powerful and glorious God: upon which he advanced, at one ſtep, a journey of five hundred years; and, the ſame command being twice more repeated, took two more ſuch ſteps: then the ground he ſtood upon was lifted up, ſo that he was within the Light of his Lord, and was quite abſorbed by it, and dazled; and, fearing he ſhould be blinded, ſhut his eyes; and God opened the eyes of his heart: and now, being within the veil, he ſaw many things unutterable: then the Lord laid one hand on his breaſt, and the other upon his ſhoulder, upon which a cold penetrated into his bowels, but at the ſame time he was regaled with an inexpreſſible ſweetneſs, and an odour infinitely charming: and now, the apoſtle being admitted to a converſation with his Creator, I ſhall take notice of ſome of the principal parts of it only: ſeeing a

ſword hanging all bloody, he begged it might not hang over his nation: and was anſwered, I ſend thee with the ſword, but thy nation ſhall not periſh by the ſword. Then he begged ſome degree of excellence might be given to him, as had been done to other prophets, as *Abraham*, *Moſes*, &c. the anſwer was, there are two chapters in the *Alcoran*, which whoever reads ſhall have every thing neceſſary in this world, and enter into paradiſe in the life to come: as for you *Mahomet*, I have written your name in heaven along with my own: no mention is made of me in heaven or earth but you are mentioned alſo: no cryer ſhall call to prayers without ſaying, God is but one, and *Mahomet* is the Apoſtle of God, nor will I accept any prayers if that profeſſion is not made: then he deſired pardon for his nation, and was promiſed a pardon for ſeventy thouſand of them; and, upon his requeſt the number might be increaſed, God took three handfuls of infinitely ſmall duſt, and ſcattered it, to ſhew ſo many Moſlems would be ſaved that none but God alone was able to tell the number of them.

The firſt perſon to whom *Mahomet* related his night-journey was *Al Abbas*, who adviſed him by all means to keep it to himſelf; for, ſaid he, if you ſpeak of it in public you will be called a lyar, and be otherwiſe inſulted: *Omm Hana* daughter of *Abu Taleb* earneſtly intreated him to the ſame purpoſe, and laid hold on his veſt, to detain him; but he angrily broke from her, and went and declared it in a large company, and met with a good many affronts, particularly from *Abu Jehel*, who called out to him and ſaid, *Mahomet* you ſay you

have

have been in the temple of *Jeruſalem*, pray give us ſome deſcription of it; as for me I have been in it more than once: hearing this *Abubeker* was in ſuch a conſternation that he fell to the ground, and *Mahomet* whiſpered, in his ear, that he was quite at a loſs what to ſay; becauſe it was in the night that he was there: but ſoon got out of this difficulty, by the help of his friend *Gabriel*, who held in his view, unſeen by every body elſe, a model of the temple, which enabled him to anſwer all queſtions they put to him about the number and ſituation of the doors, lamps, *&c.* ſo exactly according to the truth, as to ſtrike the hearers with aſtoniſhment. So much may ſuffice from *Abu Horaira*, whoſe tradition is accounted of great authority, and will by every reader be thought as credible as the other from *Anas* ſon of *Malek*.

In the thirteenth year of his miſſion, *Muſaab* ſon of *Omair* with ſeventy men and eighteen women, believers, and ſome others not yet converted, came to *Mecca*, and promiſed the apoſtle to meet him at night at a place called *Akaba*: he went to them, and with him his uncle *Al Abbas*, who had not yet embraced *Iſlam*; but favoured his nephew's intereſt: *Al Abbas* made a ſpeech, wherein he recommended to them to ſtand by his nephew, whom they had invited to come among them. *Mahomet* propoſed that they ſhould take an oath to defend him as they would their wives and children: they demanded, What ſhall we get, if we be killed upon your account? he anſwered *Paradiſe*: Stretch out your hand then, ſaid they; he did ſo, and they took the oath, and returned to *Yathreb*. Then the prophet ordered his *Mecca* con-

converts to get away ſecretly to *Yathreb*, but ſtaid himſelf at *Mecca*, till he ſhould have the divine permiſſion to go from thence; *Abubeker* and *Ali* ſtaid with him.

The *Coreiſhites*, finding the prophet had thus entered into a league with thoſe of *Yathreb*, and that his party at *Mecca* ſtuck cloſe to him, took a reſolution to aſſaſſinate him: whereof being informed, he made his eſcape, by throwing a handful of duſt upon the heads of the infidels, ſays my author, having firſt put his own green veſt upon *Ali*, and ordered him to lie down in his place, which he did: the aſſaſſins peeped in through a creviſe of the door, and ſeeing the green veſt, thought themſelves ſure of him, till *Ali* came out in the morning, and then, finding their miſtake, ſent out parties in purſuit of him; here *Mahomet* narrowly eſcaped, he and *Abubeker* hiding themſelves three days in a cave: ſome tell us, a ſpider ſpread a web over the mouth of the cave, and a pigeon laid two eggs there, the ſight of which made the purſuers not go in to ſearch for them. When their purſuers were returned home, they came out; and, by the help of a guide, got ſafe to *Yathreb*: there they met with a kind reception, for ſome of the *helpers* eager to entertain him, laid hold of the bridle of his camel; Let her go, ſaid he, ſhe is obſtinate: at laſt, when ſhe came to a certain place[a], ſhe kneeled; and the prophet lighted, and

[a] Some chriſtian writers quoted by *Prideaux*, ſay the ground belonged to two orphans, whom *Mahomet* violently diſpoſſeſſed of it, to build a *moſque* thereon, for the exerciſe of his new religion; but *Gagnier* brings *Arab* writers that ſay he bought the ground and paid for it. *Not.* in *Abu'l Fed.* pag. 53.

walked

walked till he met *Abu Aiub* one of the helpers, who took his baggage off his camel, and received him into his houſe. He lived with *Abu Aiub* till he had built an houſe of his own, and ſettled there, till his death: whereupon the town loſt its ancient name *Yathreb*, and was called *Medinato'l Nabi*, *the town of the prophet*, and at laſt *Medina*, *the town*, by way of eminence; in the ſame manner as *London* is often called the town.

Mahomet had hitherto propagated his religion by fair means only: during his ſtay at *Mecca* he had declared his buſineſs was only to preach and admoniſh; and that whether people believed or not was none of his concern: he had uſed only the arts of perſwaſion, promiſing the joys of *Paradiſe*, to all who believed in him, and who ſhould, for the hopes of them, diſregard the things of this world, and even bear perſecution with patience and reſignation: and, to deter his hearers from infidelity, as he called it, he ſet before them the puniſhments inflicted in this world upon *Pharaoh* and others, who had deſpiſed the warnings of the prophets ſent to reclaim them; and the torments of hell, which would be their portion in the world to come: but now, when he had got a conſiderable town at his command, and a good number of followers firmly attached to him, he began to ſing another note: now, *Gabriel* brings him meſſages from heaven, that, whereas other prophets had come with miracles and been rejected, he was to take different meaſures, and propagate *Iſlam* by the ſword: and accordingly, within a year after his arrival at *Medina*, he began what was called *the holy war*. He firſt inſtituted a brotherhood,

joining his *Anſars* or *helpers* and his *Mohajerins* or *refugees* together in pairs; he himſelf took *Ali* for his brother, which made *Ali*, afterwards preaching at *Cufa*, ſay, I am the ſervant of God, and brother to the apoſtle of God. This *Hejira* or flight of *Mahomet* is the *Æra* from which the *Mahometans* date the times of all tranſactions.

In the ſecond year of the *Hejira*, *Mahomet* changed the *Kebla* of the *Moſlems* which had before been towards *Jeruſalem*, and ordered them to turn towards *Mecca*, when they prayed [a]: the ſame year, he appointed the faſt of the month *Ramadhan*.

Mahomet having a pretty large congregation at *Medina*, was thinking of calling them to prayers by an horn, or ſome inſtrument of wood, which ſhould make a noiſe when it was ſtruck upon; but this year, one of his diſciples had a dream that a man in a green veſt recommended, as a better way, to have the people ſummoned to prayers by a cryer, who ſhould call out, *Allah acbar Allah acbar*, *&c. God is great, God is great, there is but one God, Mahomet is his prophet*; [b] *come to prayers, come to prayers: Mahomet* approved of the ſcheme, and this very form is in uſe to this day among the *Moſlems:* in the call to morning prayers, they add theſe words, *prayer is better than ſleep, prayer is better than ſleep*: a ſentiment not unworthy the conſideration of thoſe who are profeſſors of a better religion.

a This was partly out of averſion to the Jews, his mortal enemies, and partly to pleaſe the idolatrous *Arabs*, whoſe ancient *Kebla* was *Mecca*. b The *Perſians* add theſe words, *and Ali is the friend of God: Kouli Khan* having a mind to unite the two differing ſects, ordered them to be omitted. *Fraſer*'s life of *Kouli Khan*. pag. 124.

The

The ſame year, the apoſtle ſent ſome of his people to plunder a caravan going to *Mecca*, which they did, and brought two priſoners to *Medina*: this was the firſt act of hoſtility committed by the *Moſlems* againſt the idolaters: the next was the battle of *Beder*: the hiſtory of it is as follows, from *Abu'l Feda*. The apoſtle hearing that a caravan of the *Meccans* was coming home from *Syria*, eſcorted by *Abu Sophian* at the head of thirty men, placed a number of ſoldiers in ambuſcade to intercept them: *Abu Sophian*, being informed of this by his ſpies, ſent notice of it to *Mecca*, whereupon all the principal men came to his aſſiſtance, except *Abu Laheb*, who ſent *Al Aſum* ſon of *Heſham* in his ſtead; they were in all 950 men, whereof 200 were cavalry. The apoſtle of God w. G. b. went out againſt them with 313 men, 77 of them *refugees* from *Mecca*, the reſt *helpers* from *Medina*: they had with them only two horſes and ſeventy camels, upon which they rode by turns. The apoſtle encamped near a well called *Beder*, from the name of the perſon who was owner of it, and had a hut made where he and *Abubeker* ſat: as ſoon as the armies were in ſight of each other, three champions came out from among the idolaters, *Otba* ſon of *Rabia*, his brother *Shaiba*, and *Al Walid* ſon of *Otba*: the prophet ſent *Obeida* ſon of *Hareth* againſt the firſt of theſe, *Hamza* againſt the ſecond, and *Ali* againſt the third: *Hamza* and *Ali* ſlew each his man, and then went to the aſſiſtance of *Obeida*, and killed his adverſary, and brought *Obeida* off, who ſoon after died of a wound in his foot. All this while the apoſtle continued in his hut, in prayer, beating his breaſt ſo violently that

his cloak fell off his ſhoulders, and was taken ſuddenly with a palpitation of the heart, but recovered, and then comforted *Abubeker*, telling him *God's help was come*; and forthwith ran out of his hut, and encouraged his men, and took a handful of duſt and threw towards the *Coreiſhites*, and ſaid, May their faces be confounded; and immediately they fled: after the battle, *Abdolla* the ſon of *Maſud* brought the head of *Abu Jehel* to the apoſtle, who gave thanks to God: *Al As* brother to *Abu Jehel* was alſo killed. Upon the news of this defeat, *Abu Laheb* died of grief, in a weeks time: the number of idolaters ſlain was ſeventy: my author names ſome of chief note; among them was *Hantala* ſon of *Abu Sophian*, and *Nawfal*, brother to *Cadigha*: *Ali* ſlew ſix of them with his own hand.

Al Abbas the prophet's uncle, and *Ocail* ſon of *Abu Taleb* were taken priſoners: the prophet ordered the dead bodies of the enemy to be drawn into a pit: Of the *Moſlems* died fourteen *martyrs*, (ſo they call all ſuch as die fighting for *Iſlam*) the apoſtle ſtaid three days upon the field of battle dividing the ſpoil; on occaſion whereof a quarrel aroſe between the *helpers* and the *refugees*: to quiet them, the 8th chapter of the *Alcoran* was brought from heaven: it begins thus, *They will aſk thee concerning the ſpoils*: ſay, *the ſpoils belong to God and his apoſtle*: and, after, runs thus, *and know that whenever ye gain any, a fifth part belongeth to God, and to the apoſtle, and his kindred, and the orphans, and the poor*. The other 4 fifths are to be divided among thoſe who are preſent at the action. The apoſtle, when he returned to *Safra* in his way to *Medina*, ordered *Ali* to behead two of his priſoners.

The

The victory at *Beder* was of great importance to *Mahomet*, to encourage his men, and increaſe the number of his followers: he pretended two miracles were wrought in his favour, in this, and in ſeveral ſubſequent battles: 1, that God ſent his angels to fight on his ſide, and 2, made his army appear to the enemy much greater than it really was. He mentions both theſe miracles in the *Alcoran*, ch. 8. *Al Abbas* ſaid, he was taken priſoner by a man of a prodigious ſize; (*an angel to be ſure*) no wonder then he became a convert.

'*Ommia* the ſon of *Abu'l Salat* was one of the 'chief of the unbelievers: being one who could 'read, he had objected to the miſſion of the pro-'phet w. G. b. and was arrived to that pitch of 'madneſs, as to hope to be received for an apoſtle 'himſelf: he had been in *Syria*, and, returning 'home near the well where they told him the car-'caſes of the ſlain, and among them two of his 'near relations, had been thrown, in token of grief, 'cut off the ears of his camel; and, ſtanding by 'the well, recited a long elegy, of which the fol-'lowing lines are a part: *Abu'l Feda vit. Mahom.*

'Have I not wail'd th' heroic ſons of nobles,
'their wounded bodies and their fractur'd ribs,
'in the thick wood as mourns the lonely dove?
'like her, with me, lament ye mourning women,
'with ſighs and groans, low ſitting on the ground.
'Alas! the peers and princes of the people
'how fall'n, at *Beder* and *Al Kandali!*
'all night expos'd lie there both old and young,
'naked and breathleſs.
'Oh what a change is come to *Mecca*'s vale!
'ev'n ſandy deſart plains are drencht in tears.

As

As ſoon as the *Moſlems* returned to *Medina*, the *Coreiſhites* ſent to offer a ranſom for their priſoners, which was accepted, and diſtributed among thoſe who had taken them, according to the quality of the priſoners: ſome had 1000 drachms for their ſhare; thoſe who had a ſmall or no part of the ranſom *Mahomet* rewarded with donations, ſo as to content them all.

The Jews had made a treaty with *Mahomet*, and lived peaceably at *Medina*; till a Jew, having affronted an *Arabian* milk-woman, was killed by a *Moſlem*: to revenge this, the Jews killed the *Moſlem*, whereupon a ſkirmiſh enſued: the Jews fled to their caſtles, and after a ſiege of fifteen days, were forced to ſurrender at diſcretion: *Mahomet* ordered their hands to be tied behind them, determined to put them all to the ſword, and was with great difficulty prevailed upon to ſpare their lives, and take all they had. *Caab* ſon of *Aſhraf*, was one of the moſt violent among the Jews againſt *Mahomet*: he had been at *Mecca*, and with ſome pathetic verſes upon the unhappy fate of thoſe ſlain at *Beder*, ſtirred up the *Meccans* to take up arms: and upon his return to *Medina*, rehearſed thoſe verſes among the lower ſort of people, and the women: *Mahomet* was told of theſe underhand practiſes, and ſaid one day, Who will rid me of the ſon of *Aſhraf*? *Mohammed*, ſon of *Moſalama*, one of the *helpers*, anſwered, I am the man, O apoſtle of God that will do it: and immediately took with him *Salcan* ſon of *Salama*, and ſome other *Moſlems* who were to lie in ambuſh; and, the better to decoy *Caab* out of his caſtle, which was a very ſtrong one, *Salcan*, who was his foſter-brother,

ther, went alone to viſit him in the duſk of the evening; and, entering into converſation, told him ſome little ſtories of *Mahomet*, which he knew would pleaſe him: when he got up to take his leave, *Caab*, as he expected he would, waited upon him to the gate; and, continuing the converſation, went on with him till they came near the ambuſcade; where *Mohammed* and his companions fell upon him and ſtabbed him.

Abu Sophian, meditating revenge for the defeat at *Beder*, ſwore he would neither anoint himſelf nor come near his women till he was even with *Mahomet*: and ſet out towards *Medina* with 200 horſe, and ordered a party of them near the town, where one of the *helpers* fell into their hands, and was killed: *Mahomet*, being informed of it, went out againſt them, but they all fled, and, for the greater expedition, threw away ſome ſacks of meal, part of their proviſion; from which this was called *the meal-war*.

Abu Sophian, reſolved to make another and more effectual effort, got together a body of 3000 men, whereof 700 were cuiraſſiers, and 200 cavalry: his wife *Henda* with a number of women followed in the rear, beating drums, and lamenting the fate of thoſe ſlain at *Beder*, and exciting the idolaters to fight courageouſly. The apoſtle would have waited for them in the town, but his people were for advancing towards the enemy: he did ſo, and ſet out with 1000 men, but 100 of them went back, diſheartened at the ſuperior number of the enemy: he encamped at the foot of mount *Obud* having the mountain in his rear: of the 900 men with him only 100 had armour on, and as for horſes, there was only one beſides that which he himſelf

himſelf rode upon: *Moſaab* carried his ſtandard. *Caled* ſon of *Al Walid* led the right wing of the idolaters, *Acrema* ſon of *Abu Jehel* the left: the women kept in the rear, beating their drums. *Henda* cried out to them, *Courage ye ſons of Abdol Dari, courage! fight with all your ſwords.*

The apoſtle placed fifty archers in his rear, and ordered them to keep their poſt. Then *Hamza* fought ſtoutly, and killed *Arta* the ſtandard bearer of the idolaters; and *Seba* ſon of *Abdol Uzza* coming near him *Hamza* ſtruck off his head; but was himſelf immediately after run through with a ſpear, by *Wahſha* a ſlave, who lurked behind a rock with that intent. Then *Ebn Kamia* ſlew *Moſaab* the apoſtle's ſtandard-bearer; and taking him for the apoſtle, cried out, *I have killed Mahomet.* When *Moſaab* was ſlain the prophet gave the ſtandard to *Ali*.

At the beginning of the action the *Moſlems* attacked the idolaters ſo furiouſly, as to make them give ground, and fall back upon their rear, and put it into diſorder: the archers ſeeing this, and expecting a compleat victory, contrary to the expreſs orders that had been given them, left their poſts and came forward, that they might not looſe their ſhare of the plunder: in the mean time, *Caled* advancing with his cavalry, fell furiouſly upon the rear of the *Moſlems*, and cried out aloud at the ſame time, that *Mahomet* was ſlain: this, and the finding themſelves attacked on all ſides, threw the *Moſlems* into a conſternation; ſo that the idolaters made great havock among them, and preſſed on ſo near the apoſtle, as to beat him down, with a ſhower of ſtones and arrows: he had his lip wound-

wounded, and two heads of arrows ſtuck in his face: *Abu Obeida* pulled out firſt one, and then the other; at each operation, one of the apoſtle's teeth came out: *Sonan Abu Said* wiped the blood off his face; then the apoſtle ſaid, he that touches my blood and handles it tenderly ſhall not have his blood ſpilt in the fire (*of hell.*) In this action, it is ſaid, *Telhah*, whilſt he was putting a breaſt-plate upon *Mahomet*, received a wound upon his hand, and continued lame on it ever after. *Omar* and *Abubeker* were alſo wounded. When the *Moſlems* ſaw *Mahomet* fall, they concluded he was killed; and fled upon it: *Othman* was carried away with the croud of thoſe that fled; but in a little time finding *Mahomet* was alive, a great number of them returned to the battle; and, after a very obſtinate fight, brought him off, and carried him to a neighbouring village. The *Moſlems* had ſeventy men killed, the idolaters loſt only two and twenty.

The *Coreiſhites* had no other fruit of their victory but the gratifying a poor ſpirit of revenge: *Henda* and the women who had fled with her, upon the firſt diſorder of the idolaters, returned now; and committed great barbarities upon the dead bodies of the apoſtles friends: they cut off their ears and noſes, and made bracelets and necklaces of them: *Henda* pulled *Hamza*'s liver out of his body, and chewed and ſwallowed ſome of it. *Abu Sophian* cut pieces off the cheeks of *Hamza*, put them upon the end of his ſpear, and cried out aloud, The ſucceſs of war is uncertain; after the battle of *Beder* comes the battle of *Obud*; now *Hobal*[a] thy religion is victorious: notwithſtanding

[a] The name of an idol worſhipped by the *Arabs*.

this

this boaſting, he decamped the ſame day; which *Jannabi* aſcribes to a panic: however that were, *Abu Sophian* ſent to propoſe a truce for a year, which was agreed to.

When the enemy were retreated towards *Mecca*, *Mahomet* went to the field of battle to look for the body of *Hamza*: and, finding it ſhamefully mangled, as has been before related, ordered it to be wrapped in a black cloak, and prayed over it, repeating ſeven times *Allah acbar*, &c. God is great, &c. then he prayed over every one of the martyrs in the ſame manner, naming *Hamza* again with every one of them; ſo that *Hamza* had the prayers ſaid over him ſeventy two times: and, as if this were not enough, he declared that *Gabriel* told him, he had been received into the ſeventh heaven, with this *elogium*, *Hamza* the lion of God, and the lion of the apoſtle of God.

The *Moſlems* were much chagrined at this defeat: ſome expreſſed a doubt of the apoſtle being ſo much in the divine favour as he pretended, ſince he had ſuffered ſuch an overthrow by infidels: others murmured at the loſs of their friends and relations: he uſed various arguments to pacify them: he told them, the ſins of ſome of them were the cauſe of their diſgrace: that they had been diſobedient to orders, in quitting their poſt, for the ſake of plunder: that the devil put it into the minds of thoſe who turned back; which, however, was forgiven, becauſe God is merciful: that it was to try them, and ſhew who were believers and who not: that the event of war is uncertain: that the enemy had ſuffered as well as they: that other prophets had been worſted in battle: that death is unavoid-

able:

able: and here his doctrine of fate was of great ſervice to him, as it was afterwards to his ſucceſſors, to make his people fearleſs, and even deſperate in fight: for he taught them, that the time of every man's death is ſo unalterably fixt, that he cannot die before the appointed hour; and, when that is come, no caution whatever can prolong his life one moment:[a] ſo that they who were ſlain in battle would certainly have died at the ſame time, if they had been at home in their houſes: but, as they now died fighting for the faith, they had thereby gained a crown of martyrdom, and entered immediately into paradiſe, where they were in perfect bliſs with their Lord.

In the beginning of the next year, *Mahomet*, hearing the *Aſadites* had a deſign againſt the country about *Medina*, ſent a party of fifty men who ravaged their country, and brought away a great number of ſheep; and ſo many camels that every man had ſeven for his ſhare. About that time, being informed that *Sophian* ſon of *Caled* the *Hodhailite* was raiſing men againſt him, he ordered *Abdollah* ſon of *Onais*, a determined *bravo*, to go and aſſaſſinate him; which he performed, and was rewarded by *Mahomet* with his walking-ſtick: which *Abdollah* carried with him ever after, and ordered it to be buried with him.

Mahomet ſent alſo *Amru* with an aſſiſtant to *Mecca*, to aſſaſſinate *Abu Sophian*; but *Amru* was diſcovered, and forced to fly, with his companion, and returned to *Medina* without ſucceſs. This year, the prophet had a revelation to prohibit wine, and games of chance: ſome ſay, on account of a quarrel thereby occaſioned among his followers.

[a] An opinion as ancient as *Homer*. *Iliad.* 6. v. 487.

This

This year alſo, the people of *Edlo* and *Al-Kara* ſent a deputation to deſire the prophet to ſend ſome *Moſlems* to inſtruct them in his religion: he ſent ſix men with them, three of whom they treacherouſly maſſacred, and took the other three priſoners: one of the priſoners was killed as he endeavoured to make his eſcape; the other two were ſold to the *Coreiſhites*, who put them to a cruel death.

In the fifth year of the *Hejira*, *Mahomet*, informed by his ſpies of a deſign againſt *Medina*, ſurrounded it with a ditch, which was no ſooner finiſhed than the *Meccans* with ſeveral tribes of *Arabs* ſat down before it, to the number of 10000 men; the appearance of ſo great a force threw the *Moſlems* into a conſternation: ſome were ready to revolt, one of them ſaid aloud, yeſterday the prophet promiſed we ſhould get the wealth of *Coſroes* and *Cæſar*, and now he is forced to hide himſelf in a naſty ditch. In the mean time, *Mahomet* concealing his concern, ſet as good a face upon the matter as he could, marched out with 3000 *Moſlems*, and formed his army at a little diſtance behind the intrenchment. The two armies continued facing each other for twenty days, without any action; except ſome arrows diſcharged on both ſides. At length, ſome champions of the *Coreiſhites*, *Amru* ſon of *Abd-Wodd*, *Acrema* ſon of *Abu Jehel*, and *Nawfal* ſon of *Abdolla* came to the ditch, and leaped over it; and, wheeling about between the ditch and the *Moſlem* army, challenged them to fight: *Ali* readily accepted the challenge, and came forward againſt his uncle *Amru*, who ſaid to him, Nephew what a pleaſure am I now going to have in killing you? *Ali* replied, no, it is I that am to have a much greater

greater pleaſure in killing you: *Amru* immediately lighted and ham-ſtringed his horſe, and advanced towards *Ali*, who had alſo quitted his horſe, and was ready to receive him: they fought, and, in turning about to flank each other, raiſed ſuch a duſt that they could not be diſtinguiſhed, only the ſtrokes of their ſwords might be heard; till, the duſt being laid, *Ali* was ſeen with his knee upon the breaſt of his adverſary, cutting his throat: upon this, the other two champions went back as faſt as they came: *Nawfal*, in leaping the ditch, got a fall, and was overwhelmed with a ſhower of ſtones; and cried out, I had rather die by the ſword than thus: *Ali* heard him, and leaped into the ditch and diſpatched him. He then purſued *Acrema*, and wounded him with a ſpear; and drove him and his companions back to the army: there they related what had happened; which put them in ſuch fear, that they were ready to retreat: ſome of their tents were overthrown by a ſtorm, and there aroſe ſuch a diſcord among them, that the *Coreiſhites*, finding themſelves forſaken by their auxiliaries, returned to *Mecca*. *Mahomet* made a miracle of the retreat; and publiſhed upon it this verſe of the Alcoran, *God ſent a ſtorm, and legions of angels, which you did not ſee.*

Upon the apoſtle's returning into the town, laying by his armour and waſhing himſelf, *Gabriel* came and aſked him, *Have you laid by your arms? we have not laid by ours; go and attack them*, pointing to the *Coraidites*, a jewiſh tribe confederated againſt him: whereupon, he went and ſo cloſely beſieged them in their caſtles, that, after twenty five days, they ſurrendered at diſcretion: he referr-

ed the conditions to be ſettled by *Saad* ſon of *Moad*; who, being wounded by an arrow at the ditch, had wiſhed he might only live to be revenged; and accordingly gave judgment; that the men, who were between 600 and 700, ſhould all be put to the ſword, the women and children ſold for ſlaves, and their goods given to the ſoldiers for a prey: *Mahomet* extolled the juſtice of this ſentence, as a divine direction ſent down from the ſeventh heaven; and had it punctually executed: *Saad* preſently after died of his wound: *Mahomet* performed his funeral obſequies, and made an harangue in praiſe of him.

One *Salam*, a jew, having been very ſtrenuous in ſtirring up the people againſt the prophet, ſome zealous *Caſregites* came to him and deſired leave to go and aſſaſſinate him; he gave them leave, and they went to his houſe, and, being let in by his wife, upon their pretending they wanted to buy proviſions, barred the door, murdered him in his bed, and made their eſcape.

Towards the end of this year, *Mahomet*, going into the houſe of *Zaid*, did not find him at home, but happened to ſpy his wife *Zainab* ſo much in diſhabille, as to diſcover beauties enough to touch the heart of one ſo amourous as he was: he could not conceal the impreſſion made upon him; but cried out, *Praiſed be God who turneth mens hearts as he pleaſes! Zainab* heard him, and told it to her huſband when he came home: *Zaid*, who had been greatly obliged to *Mahomet*, was very deſirous to gratify him, and offered to divorce his wife; *Mahomet* diſuaded him from it, but *Zaid* eaſily perceived it was only a copy of his countenance, and actu-

actually divorced her: then *Mahomet* took her to wife, and celebrated the nuptials with extraordinary magnificence, keeping open houſe upon the occaſion: notwithſtanding which, this ſtep gave great offence, that a prophet ſhould marry his ſon's wife; for he had before adopted *Zaid* for his ſon: to ſalve the affair, he had recourſe to his uſual method: *Gabriel* brings him a revelation from heaven, that God had commanded him to take the wife of his adopted ſon, on purpoſe that, for the future, believers might have no ſcruple to marry the divorced wives, or widows of their adopted ſons; which the *Arabs* had before looked upon as unlawful: and the apoſtle is reproved *for fearing men*, in this affair, *whereas he ought to fear God*, Alc. c. 33.

In the ſixth year he ſubdued ſeveral tribes of the *Arabs*: among the captives was a woman of great beauty, named *Juweira*, her *Mahomet* took to wife, and, by way of dowry, releaſed all her kindred that were taken priſoners. At the ſame time a ſervant of *Omar* fighting with one of the *helpers* occaſioned a quarrel between tbe *helpers* and the *refugees*: whereupon, *Abdollah*, ſon of *Abu Solul*, a *Medinian* unbeliever reflected upon the *refugees*, as a people that would encroach upon the *Medinians*, if they did not prevent it in time; as now they might eaſily do: what he ſaid was carried to the apoſtle; and *Omar*, being by, would have had him ſend ſome body to ſtrike off his head: what will people ſay, ſaid the apoſtle, *may Mahomet put to death thoſe that are with him? as he pleaſes?* preſently after, the ſon of *Abdolla*, who had heard of the affair, came in, and ſaid, O apoſtle of God, I am told you have ſome thoughts of condemning my father

to death: if that be your intent, command me, and I will immediately bring you his head. So well had this youth, who had embraced *Iſlam*, been inſtructed in the humane doctrine taught in the *Alcoran*, chap. 47, in theſe words, *if ye meet with any unbelievers, ſtrike off their heads, till you have made a great ſlaughter of them: and bind them in ſtrong bonds: and give them their liberty freely, or take a ranſom, till the weapons of war are laid down.* The apoſtle, who knew when it was for his intereſt to appear merciful and placable, bade the young man be kind to his father, and not take any thing amiſs of him.

When *Mahomet* went upon any expedition, it was generally determined by lots which of his wives ſhould go with him; at this time it fell to *Ayeſha*'s lot to accompany him: upon their return to *Medina*, *Ayeſha* was accuſed of having an intrigue with one of the officers of the army, which occaſioned her to be under great diſgrace, for about a month: the prophet was exceedingly chagrined to have his beſt beloved wife accuſed of adultery, but his fondneſs for her prevailed over his reſentment; and ſhe was reſtored to his favour, upon her own proteſtation of her innocence: this did not quite ſatisfy the world, nor ſet the prophet's mind perfectly at eaſe; till *Gabriel* brought him a revelation, wherein ſhe is declared innocent of the crime laid to her charge: and thoſe who accuſe believers of any crime, without proof, are ſeverely reproved; and a command given, that whoſoever accuſes chaſte women and does not produce four eye-witneſſes, ſhall receive eighty ſtripes: *Alcor. chap.* 24. accordingly, all thoſe who had raiſed

this

this report upon *Ayeſha* were ſcourged in that manner, except *Abdolla* ſon of *Abu Solul*, who was too conſiderable a man to be ſo dealt with, though he had been remarkably induſtrious in ſpreading the ſcandal.

Mahomet being now increaſed in power marched his army againſt *Mecca*, and by the way had an engagement, wherein neither ſide getting the advantage, a truce for ten years was agreed upon; the conditions whereof were that all within *Mecca*, who had a mind to it might join *Mahomet*: and thoſe who had a mind to leave him and return to *Mecca* might have the liberty to do ſo: but, for the future, if any *Meccans* deſerted to him, they ſhould be ſent back upon demand; and that *Mahomet* or any of his *Moſlems* might come to *Mecca*, provided they came unarmed, and tarried not above three days at a time.

Mahomet was now ſo well confirmed in his power, that he took upon himſelf the authority of a king; and was, by the chief men of his army, inaugurated under a tree near *Medina*: and, as he had, by the truce, obtained for his followers free acceſs to *Mecca*, he ordained they ſhould, from that time, make their pilgrimages thither[a]. It had been an ancient uſage among the *Arabs* to come once a year to the *Caaba*, to worſhip their heathen Deities; *Mahomet* thought proper to comply with a cuſtom they were ſo fond of, and that was ſo beneficial to his native place, by the great concourſe of pilgrims that frequented it: and, when he came

[a] He once thought to have ordered the pilgrimage to *Jeruſalem*; but, finding the Jews ſo inveterate againſt him, thought it more adviſeable to oblige the *Arabs*.

to be maſter of *Mecca*, eſtabliſhed the pilgrimage, with moſt of the old ceremonies: and only took away the idols, and aboliſhed the worſhip of them. When he took upon him the ſovereign command, and the *inſignia* of royalty, he ſtill retained the ſacred character of *chief Pontiff* of his religion, and tranſmitted both thoſe powers to his *Caliphs* or *Succeſſors*; who, for ſome time, not only ordered all matters of religion, but uſed to officiate in praying and preaching, in their Moſques: eſpecially upon publick occaſions. In proceſs of time, this came to be all the authority the Caliphs had left, for, about the year of the *Hejira* 325, the governours of provinces ſeized the regal authority, and made themſelves kings, each in his particular government: they paid indeed a deference to the *Caliph*, who uſually reſided at *Bagdat*, but often depoſed him. At this preſent time, moſt Mahometan princes have a perſon in their reſpective dominions, who bears this ſacred character; and is called the *Mufti* in *Turkey*, and in *Perſia* the *Sadre:* he is often appealed to, as the interpreter of the law; but, as a tool of ſtate, uſually gives ſuch judgement as he knows will be moſt acceptable to his prince.

Mahomet at firſt uſed to preach in his Moſque at *Medina*, leaning upon a poſt of a palm-tree drove into the ground; but, being inveſted with this dignity, by the advice of one of his wives, had a pulpit made, which had two ſteps up to it, and a ſeat within: when *Othman* was Caliph, he hung it with tapeſtry; and *Moawiyah* raiſed it ſix ſteps higher, that he might be heard when he ſat down, as he was forced to do, being very fat and heavy: whereas his predeceſſors all uſed to ſtand.

Mahomet

Mahomet had now a dream, that he had the key of the *Caaba* in his hand, and that he and his men made the *circuits* round it, and performed all the ceremonies of the pilgrimage: next morning he told his dream, and they were all in high ſpirits upon it; taking it for an *Omen*, that they ſhould ſhortly be maſters of *Mecca*: accordingly, great preparations were made for this expedition: the prophet declared his intent was to make the pilgrimage; and provided ſeventy camels for the ſacrifice, which were conducted by 700 men, ten to each camel: and becauſe he apprehended he ſhould meet with oppoſition from the *Coreiſhites*, he took with him his beſt troops to the number of 1400 men, beſides an incredible number of *wandring Arabs* from all parts. The *Coreiſhites* alarmed at the march of the *Moſlems*, got together a conſiderable force, and encamped about ſix miles from *Mecca*. *Mahomet* continued his march, but finding, by his ſpies, the enemy had poſted their men, ſo as to ſtop the paſſes, by feints and counter marches, came to a place where his camel fell upon her knees: the people ſaid ſhe was reſty; but the prophet took it for a divine intimation not to proceed any farther in his intended expedition, but to wait with reſignation, till the appointed time; and turned back, and encamped without the ſacred territory, at *Hodaibia*. The *Coreiſhites* ſent three ſeveral meſſengers, the two laſt men of conſequence, to demand what was his intent in coming thither: the anſwer was, purely out of devotion to viſit *the ſacred houſe*; and not with any hoſtile deſign: *Mahomet* ſent one of his men to give them the ſame aſſurance, but they cut the legs of his

camel, and would have killed the man, if the *Ababiſhites* had not interpoſed, and helped him to eſcape. Then he would have had *Omar* go upon the ſame errand; but he excuſed himſelf, as not being upon good terms with the *Coreiſhites*: then *Othman* was ſent, who delivered his meſſage, and was coming away; when they told him he might make his circuits round the *Caaba*, if he pleaſed: he replied, he would not, before the apoſtle of God had firſt performed his vow to make the holy circuits: this provoked them ſo, that they laid him in irons: it was reported in the *Moſlem* army that he was killed: whereat *Mahomet* was much afflicted, and ſaid aloud, we will not ſtir from hence till we have given battle to the enemy. Then the whole army took an oath of obedience and fealty to the prophet: and he, by the ceremony of clapping his hands one againſt the other, took an oath to ſtand by them, as long as there was one of them left.

The *Coreiſhites* ſent a party of eighty men towards the camp of the *Moſlems* to beat up their quarters: being diſcovered by the centinels, they were ſurrounded, taken priſoners, and brought before *Mahomet*; who, thinking it proper at that time to be generous, releaſed them: upon this *Sohail*, ſon of *Amru* was ſent to him with propoſals of peace, which were agreed to: in wording the treaty *Ali* had written, *articles agreed upon between Mahomet the apoſtle of God and Sohail ſon of Amru*; *Sohail* objected to that title, and ſaid, if I owned you for an apoſtle of God I ſhould be to blame to oppoſe you; write your own name and your fathers: *Mahomet*, not being in a condition to diſpute the matter with him, bade *Ali* blot out

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the words apoſtle of God; but he bluntly ſwore he would not ſo diſhonour his glorious title: whereupon, *Mahomet* took the pen, and blotted out the words himſelf, and wrote *ſon of Abdolla*: this, my author ſays, was one of his miracles; for he never had learned to write. While they were drawing up the treaty, *Abu Jandal*, ſon of *Sohail*, who had embraced *Iſlam*, and been confined by his father at *Mecca*, got looſe, and came among the *Moſlems*, and, being diſcovered, was reclaimed by his father, in virtue of the articles. *Sohail* beat his ſon ſeverely, for this elopement, but *Mahomet* exhorted the young man to have patience, for God would ſoon give liberty and proſperity to him and all *Moſlems* in his condition: *Mahomet*'s men were greatly diſguſted at the diſappointment they had met with: for they expected, from his dream, and the promiſes he had made them, a compleat victory; whereas, after a great deal of fatigue, they were now forced to be contented with what they thought a diſhonourable peace.

Mahomet had encamped without the precincts of *Mecca*, but ſo near the ſacred territory, that he went thence to ſay his prayers. He gave the word of command to his people, *ſlay the victims and ſhave your heads*, but no body ſtirred, to do as he had bidden them: telling this to his wife *Omm-Salama*, ſhe adviſed him thus, go among them, and ſay nothing to any body, but ſlay your camels, and make your ſacrifice; and ſend for your barber and ſhave your head: he did ſo, and all his people immediately followed his example: the apoſtle cried out, *God be merciful to the ſhaved heads*: they anſwered, *and to the ſhaved beards too, O apoſtle of God*:

God: he repeated his prayer, and they repeated their reſponſe.

Mahomet, pretending he had a divine promiſe of a great booty, returned to *Medina*; and, having concluded a peace for ten years with the *Coreiſhites*, was the better enabled to attack the *Jews*, his irreconcileable enemies: accordingly, he went to *Caibar*, a ſtrong town about ſix days journey north eaſt of *Medina*, and took that, and ſeveral other ſtrong places, whereto the *Jews* had retired, and brought a vaſt deal of wealth: this all fell into the hands of the *Moſlems*. Being entertained at *Caibar*, a young *Jeweſs*, to try whether he were a prophet or not, as ſhe ſaid afterward, poiſoned a ſhoulder of mutton, a joynt *Mahomet* was particularly fond of; ſo that one at the table named *Baſher* died upon the ſpot: *Mahomet*, finding ſomething diſagreeable in the taſte, ſpat it out, and ſaid, this mutton tells me it is poiſoned: the miracle-mongers improve this into a ſtory that the ſhoulder of mutton ſpoke to him; but if it did, it ſpoke too late, for he had ſwallowed ſome of it, and complained of the effects of that morſel, in his laſt illneſs, of which he died three years after.

In this year, *Jannabi*[a] mentions *Mahomet* being bewitched by the *Jews*, who had made a waxen image of him, and hid it with a comb and a tuft of hair tied in eleven knots in a well: the prophet was in a very waſting condition, till he had a dream that informed where theſe implements of witchcraft were, and had them taken away: ſo untie

[a] *Gagnier* vie de *Mahomet*. v. 2. p. 43. *Sale* on the *Coran*. p. 508.

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the knots, *Gabriel* read to him the two laſt chapters of the *Alcoran*, conſiſting of eleven verſes; each verſe untied a knot, and, when all were untied, he recovered.

This year *Mahomet* had a ſeal made with this inſcription, *Mohammed the apoſtle of God:* this was to ſeal his letters with, which he now took upon him to write to divers princes, to invite them to *Iſlam:* his firſt letter was ſent to *Badham* viceroy of *Yemen*, to be forwarded to *Coſroes* King of *Perſia: Coſroes* tore the letter, and ordered *Badham*, to reſtore the prophet to his right mind, or ſend him his head. *Coſroes* was preſently after murdered by his ſon *Siroes: Badham* with his people turned *Moſlems*, and *Mahomet* continued him in his government.

He ſent a letter alſo to the Roman Emperor *Heraclius*, to the ſame purpoſe: *Heraclius* received the letter reſpectfully, and made ſome valuable preſents to the meſſenger. He ſent another to *Makawkas* viceroy of *Ægypt*, who returned in anſwer he would conſider of the propoſals, and ſent, with ſome other preſents, two young maidens: one of theſe named *Mary* of fifteen years of age, *Mahomet* debauched: whereat two of his wives *Haphſa* and *Ayeſha* were greatly enraged, and he to pacify them, promiſed upon oath to do ſo no more; but was again taken by them tranſgreſſing with *Mary:* and now, that he might not ſtand in awe of his wives any longer, down comes a revelation in the Sixty ſixth chapter of the *Alcoran*, to releaſe the prophet from his oath, and allow him to lye with his maid; and the two wives of *Mahomet*, who, upon the quarrel about *Mary*, had gone home to their fathers, being threatned in the ſame

chapter

chapter with a divorce, were glad to ſend their fathers to him to make peace for them; that they might return to him again: and came and ſubmitted to live with him upon his own terms.

Mahomet ſent letters at the ſame time to the king of *Ethiopia*, who had before profeſſed *Iſlam*, and repeated his profeſſion of it in his anſwer. He wrote to two other *Arabian* princes, who ſent him diſagreeable anſwers, which provoked him to curſe them: and to *Al Mondar*, king of *Bahrain*, who came into his religion, and afterwards routed the *Perſians*, and made a great ſlaughter of them: and now all the *Arabians* of *Bahrain* became converts to his religion.

Among the captives taken at *Caibar*, was *Saphia*, betrothed to the ſon of *Kenana*, the king of the *Jews*, *Mahomet* took her to wife; and put *Kenana* to the torture, to make him diſcover his treaſure. In the action at *Caibar*, it is ſaid, *Ali*, having his buckler ſtruck out of his hand, took one of the gates off its hinges, and uſed it for a buckler, till the place was taken: he that told this ſtory ſaid, that he and ſeven men tried to ſtir the gate, and were not able.

One of the articles of the peace being, that any *Moſlem* might be permitted to perform his pilgrimage at *Mecca*, the prophet went to compleat *the viſitation of the holy places*, which he could not do as he intended when at *Hodaiba*: the *Mecrans* were talking to one another of his being weakened by the long marches he had made; he, to ſhew the contrary, in going round the *Caaba* ſeven times, went the firſt three rounds in a briſk trot, ſhaking his ſhoulders; but the four laſt circuits in a com-

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mon walking pace: and this was the reaſon of the ſeven circuits round the *Caaba*, being ever after performed by the *Moſlems* in the ſame manner.

In the eighth year of the *Hejira*, *Caled* ſon of *Al Walid*, *Amru* ſon of *Al As*, and *Othman* ſon of *Telha*, who preſided over the *Caaba*, became *Moſlems*: this was a conſiderable addition to *Mahomet*'s power and intereſt. The ſame year *Mahomet*, having ſent a letter to the governour of *Boſtra* in *Syria*, as he had to others, and his meſſenger being ſlain there, ſent *Zaid*, ſon of *Hareth*, with 3000 men to *Muta* in *Syria* againſt the *Roman* army, which with their allies made a body of near 100000 men: *Zaid* being killed, the command fell to *Japher*; and, he being killed, to *Abdollah* ſon of *Rawahas*, who was alſo killed: then the *Moſlems* unanimouſly choſe *Caled* to lead them: he defeated the enemy, and returned to *Medina* with a conſiderable booty: on which account *Mahomet* gave him the title of *the ſword of God*.

The ſame year, the *Coreiſhites* aſſiſted ſome of their allies againſt the *Cozaites*, who were in alliance with *Mahomet*; this he reſented as an infraction of the peace: *Abu Sophian* was ſent to try to make up matters, but *Mahomet* would not vouchſafe to give him any anſwer; but made preparation to fall upon them, before they could be prepared to receive him: when he was near *Mecca* he had about 10000 men with him; *Abu Sophian* came out to reconnoitre, in the evening, when *Al Abbas*, who, out of friendſhip to his countrymen, had rode from the army, with an intent if he ſaw any ſtraggling *Meccan* to bid him go back with the news of *Mahomet*'s approach, and adviſe the *Meccans* to ſur-

ſurrender; hearing *Abu Sophians* voice, called to him, and adviſed him to get up behind him, and go with him; and in all haſte make his ſubmiſſion to *Mahomet*; which he did, and, to ſave his life profeſſed *Iſlam*: and was afterwards as zealous in propagating as he had hitherto been in oppoſing it.

Mahomet had given orders to enter *Mecca* peaceably; but *Caled*, meeting with a party who let fly ſome arrows at him, fell upon them, and ſlew twenty eight of them: *Mahomet* ſent one of his *helpers* to bid him deſiſt from ſlaughter; but the meſſenger delivered quite contrary orders, that he ſhould fall upon them without mercy: afterwards, when *Mahomet* ſaid to the *helper*, did not I bid you tell *Caled* not to kill any body in *Mecca*? it is true, ſaid the *helper*, and I would have done as you directed me, but God would have it otherwiſe; and God's will was done.

When all was quiet, *Mahomet* went to the *Caaba*, and rode round it upon his Camel ſeven times; and touched with his cane a corner of the black ſtone, with great reverence: he then lighted and went into the *Caaba*, and found there images of angels, and a figure of *Abraham* holding in his hand a bundle of arrows, which had been made uſe of for deciding things by lot; theſe he had thrown down and broken in pieces. He went into the *Caaba*, and cried with a loud voice, *Allah acbar*, ſeven times, turning round to all the ſides of the *Caaba*: then he appointed this to be the *Kebla*, or place toward which the *Moſlems* are to turn themſelves when they pray. There were on the outſide of the *Caaba* 360 idols, all which he deſtroyed; and, mounting his Camel, he rode once more

more ſeven times round the *Caaba*, and, lighting, bowed himſelf twice, and went to the well *Zemzem*, and from thence to the ſtation of *Abraham*, where he ſtopt, and had a pail of water brought from *Zemzem*, of which he drank large draughts, and made the holy waſhing called *Wodhu*, and immediately his followers came running, and did likewiſe: purifying themſelves and waſhing their faces. After this, *Mahomet*, ſtanding at the door of the *Caaba*, made an harangue to this effect, there is no other God but God, who has fulfilled his promiſe to his ſervant, and who alone has put to flight his enemies, and put under my feet every thing that is viſible around; men, animals, goods, riches; except only the government of the *Caaba*, and the keeping of the *cup* for the pilgrims to drink out of: O ye *Coreiſhites* God hath taken from you the pride of paganiſm, which cauſed you to worſhip our fathers *Abraham* and *Iſmael*, as Deities; though they were men deſcended from *Adam*, who was created out of the earth. He had a mind to diſpoſe of the overſeeing of the *Caaba*, and took the keys of it from *Othman* the ſon of *Telha*, and was going to give them to *Al Abbas*, who had aſked for them; but a direction came from heaven, in theſe words, *Give the charge to whom it belongs:* whereupon he ſent the keys by *Ali* to *Othman: Othman*, agreeably ſurpriſed, thanked *Mahomet*, and made a new profeſſion of his faith. The care of the pilgrim's cup he gave to *Al Abbas*, it is hereditary.

Then all the *Meccans* were ſummoned to the hill *Al Safa*, to *Mahomet*'s inauguration, where the prophet firſt took an oath to them; and then they all,

all, firſt the men and then the women, took an oath to be faithful and obedient, to whatſoever he ſhould command them: after this, calling an extraordinary aſſembly, he declared *Mecca* ſhould be hence forward an *aſylum* or inviolable ſanctuary, where it ſhould not be lawful to ſhed the blood of man, or even to cut down a tree.

The *Meccans*, after telling them they were his ſlaves by conqueſt, he pardoned, and declared them free: he proſcribed eleven men and ſix women, of his moſt inveterate enemies; ordering his followers to kill them whereever they were found: moſt of them, embracing *Iſlam*, got their pardon: and were zealous *Moſlems* ever after: one of them *Abdolla*, who had greatly offended him, was brought to *Mahomet* by *Othman*, who interceded for him; *Mahomet* pardoned him, and he profeſt *Iſlam:* but, before he granted his pardon, he kept ſilence a long time, in expectation, as he afterwards owned, that ſome of thoſe about him would have fallen upon *Abdolla* and killed him: Three of the women embraced *Iſlam*, and were pardoned, the reſt were killed: one of them crucified.

Mahomet ſent out *Caled* and others to deſtroy the remaining idols among ſome of the tribes; and to invite them to *Iſlam: Caled* executed his commiſſion with great brutality; the *Jodhamites* had formerly robbed and murdered *Caled*'s uncle coming from *Arabia Felix*; *Caled* propoſed *Iſlam* to them, but they cried out, they profeſſed *Sabiiſm:* this was what he wanted, and immediately fell upon them; killing ſome, and making others priſoners, of whom he diſtributed ſome among his men: as for thoſe he kept for himſelf, he tied

their

their hands behind them, and put them all to the ſword. On hearing of it, *Mahomet* lifted up his eyes, and proteſted his innocence as to this murder; and ſent *Ali* with a ſum of money to make ſatisfaction for the blood ſhed: and to reſtore the pillage: *Ali* paid to the ſurviving *Jodhamites* as much as was demanded, and generouſly gave the overplus among them; which action *Mahomet* applauded, and reproved *Caled* afterwards.

Upon *Mahomet*'s having made a conqueſt of *Mecca*, many of the tribes of the *Arabs* came and ſubmitted to him; but the *Hawazanites*, the *Thakifites*, and part of the *Saadites*, aſſembled to the number of 4000 effective men, beſides women and children, to oppoſe him. *Mahomet* went againſt them at the head of 12000 fighting men: at the firſt onſet, the *Moſlems* were received with a ſhower of arrows, and put to flight; *Mahomet*, with great courage, rallied his men, and obtained the victory. Among the captives there was one who ſaid ſhe was the daughter of *Mahomet*'s nurſe, the prophet, being by ſome mark ſatisfied of the truth of her pretenſions, held out his cloak towards her, in token of his good will, gave her leave to return home, and furniſhed her liberally for her journey. The next conſiderable action was the ſiege of *Taief*, a town ſixty miles eaſt from *Mecca*: the *Moſlems* lay before it; and, having made ſeveral breaches with their engines, marched reſolutely up to them, but were vigorouſly repulſed by the beſieged: *Mahomet* bade an herald cry, that if any of their ſlaves came to him, they ſhould have their liberty; this brought over twenty three of them; he aſſigned to each a *Moſlem* for a comerade: ſo inconſiderable

ſiderable a deſertion did not in the leaſt abate the courage of the beſieged; ſo that the prophet began to deſpair of reducing the place, and, after a dream, which *Abubeker* interpreted unfavourably to the attempt, determined to raiſe the ſiege; and ordered his men to prepare for a retreat: this occaſioned a murmuring; whereupon, he gave orders for them to be ready for an aſſault, the next day: the aſſault was made, but the aſſailants were beaten back, with great loſs: to conſole them, he ſmiled and ſaid, we will come here again, if it pleaſe God. When he came to *Jeſana* where all the booty taken from the *Hawazanites* had been left, there came a deputation from them, to beg it might be reſtored: the prophet gave them their option, of having either the captives or their goods; they choſe to have their wives and children again; and their goods were divided among the *Moſlems*: then, to indemnify thoſe who had parted with any ſlaves, he gave among them his own ſhare of the goods; and ſignified to *Malec* ſon of *Awf* their general, that, if he would come into *Iſlam*, he ſhould have all his goods as well as his family, and a preſent of 100 camels beſides: this brought him over to be ſo good a *Moſlem*, that he had the command given him of all his countrymen who were converts; and was very ſerviceable againſt the *Thakeſites*.

The prophet, after this, made an holy viſit to *Mecca*, where he appointed *Otab* ſon of *Oſaid* governour, though not quite twenty years of age; *Maad* ſon of *Jabal* Imam, or chief prieſt, to teach the people *Iſlam*, and direct them in ſolemnizing the pilgrimage: and returned to *Medina*, where his concubine *Mary* brought him a ſon, whom he named

named *Ibrahim:* celebrating his birth with a great feaſt: he lived but fifteen months.

In the ninth year of the *Hejira* there came ſeveral envoys from all parts of *Arabia* to *Mahomet* at *Medina*, to declare their readineſs to profeſs his religion: at this time, *Caab* ſon of *Zohair*, who had been proſcribed for ſome ſatyrical verſes upon *Mahomet*, came and made his peace, with a poem in praiſe of him: it began thus,

Now does my happineſs draw near;
th' accepted day is in my view:

Mahomet, beſides his pardon, gave him his cloak off his back; which precious relique was purchaſed of his family by *Moawiyah* the *Caliph*, at an high price, and was worn by the *Caliphs*, on ſolemn occaſions, till the irruption of the *Tartars*, in the year of the *Hejira* 656. *Gagnier.* in *Abul Fed.* p. 122.

The ſame year, *Mahomet*, with an army of 30000 men, marched towards *Syria*, to a place called *Tabuc*, againſt the *Romans* and *Syrians*, who were making preparation againſt him; but, upon his approach, retreated: and the *Moſlems* went back towards *Medina:* by the way, they took ſeveral forts of the chriſtian *Arabs*, and made them tributaries: at his return to *Medina*, the *Thakefites*, having been blocked up in *Taief* by the *Moſlem* tribes, ſent deputies to offer to embrace *Iſlam*, upon condition, they might retain an idol their people were much bigotted to, a little longer; *Mahomet* inſiſted upon its being immediately demoliſhed: then they deſired to be excuſed from uſing the *Moſlems* prayers; he anſwered very juſtly, that a religion without prayers was good for nothing: then they ſubmitted abſolutely.

In the ninth year of the *Hejira*, *Mahomet* ſent *Abubeker* to *Mecca*, to perform the pilgrimage, and ſacrifice twenty camels on his account. After him, he ſent *Ali* to publiſh the ninth chapter of the *Alcoran*, which, though ſo placed in the preſent confuſed copy, is generally ſuppoſed to be the laſt that was revealed; it is called *Barat*, or *Immunity*: the purport of it is, that the *aſſociators*[a] with whom *Mahomet* had made a treaty, were obliged, after four months liberty of conſcience, to embrace *Iſlam*, or pay tribute: the command is *when thoſe holy months are expired, kill the idolaters wherever ye ſhall find them:* afterwards come theſe words, *if they repent and obſerve the times of prayer and give alms* they are to be looked upon as *your brethren in religion:* here we find the impoſtor, who at firſt pretended only to perſuade, now he thought himſelf ſufficiently ſtrong to compel men into his religion, declare for making converts by force of arms: to publiſh this doctrine he could not have found a more proper perſon than his *vizir Ali*, ſee pag. 16. In the ſame chapter it is ordered, that no body ſhould perform the holy circuits round the *Caaba*, without having on the ſacred habit: and that no idolater ſhould make the pilgrimage to *Mecca*. In conſequence of this, no perſon except a *Mahometan*, dares approach the *Caaba*, on pain of death.

The following account of *Mahomet's farewel pilgrimage*, is from *Jaber* ſon of *Abdolla*,[b] who was one of the company. The Apoſtle of God w. G. b. had not made the pilgrimage of nine years; (*for when he conquered Mecca he only made a viſitation.*) In the tenth year of the *Hejira*, it was

[a] V. p. 77. [b] *Gagnier*, Not. in *Abu'l Fedam*, p. 130.

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publiſhed that he intended to go the pilgrimage: whereupon a prodigious multitude of people (*ſome make the number near* 100000) flocked from all parts to *Medina:* our chief deſire was to follow the apoſtle of God, w. G. b. and imitate him: when we came to *Dhul Holaifa* [a] the apoſtle of God, w. G. b. prayed in the moſque there; then mounted his camel, rode haſtily to the plain *Baida*, and there began to praiſe God, in the form that profeſſes his unity, ſaying, *Here I am, O God, ready to obey thee, thou haſt no partner, &c.* when we came to the *Caaba*, he kiſſed the corner of the black ſtone, went ſeven times round, three times in a trot, four times walking, then went to the ſtation of *Abraham*, and came again to the black ſtone and kiſſed it: then went through the gate of the ſons of *Madhumi* to the hill *Safa*; and went up it, till he could ſee the *Caaba*, and, turning towards the *Kebla*, profeſſed again the unity of God; ſaying, *there is no God but one, his is the kingdom, to him be praiſes, he is powerfull above every thing, &c.* then he went down towards the hill *Merwan*, I all the way followed him: in the valley he went faſt, and ſlow up the hill, till he came to the top of *Merwan:* from thence he went to the hill *Arafa*; and, it being towards ſunſet, preached till the ſun was ſet: then he went to *Moſdalefa*, between *Arafa* and the valley of *Mena*, and made the evening prayer, and the late prayer, with two

[a] There are different places where the pilgrims from different parts put off their cloaths, and put on the ſacred habit; which, being a penitential one, conſiſts of two courſe woollen wrappers, according to *Sale: Bobovius* ſays, it is made like a ſurplice: if ſo, it is only one large wrapper; for it muſt not be ſewed. v. *Pocock.* ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 316.

calls to prayer, and two riſings up: then he lay down till the dawn, and made the morning prayer: then went to the encloſure of the *Caaba*, and ſtood there till it grew very light: and then went haſtily, before the ſun was up, to the valley called *Mena*; and threw ſeven ſtones, repeating at each throw, *God is great*, &c. and from thence went to the place of ſacrificing; and ſlew ſixty three victims[a] with his own hand, being then ſixty three years old; he alſo made free ſixty three ſlaves: then he ordered *Ali* to ſacrifice ſo many more victims as to make the number 100:[b] then the apoſtle ſhaved his head, beginning on the right ſide of it, and finiſhing on the left, and caſt his hair upon a a tree, that the wind might ſcatter it among the people: *Caled* ſnatched part of the forelock and fixed it upon his *turban*, the virtue whereof he experienced in every battle he afterwards fought: then the apoſtle ordered the limbs of the victims to be boiled, ſat down, only he and *Ali*, to eat ſome of the fleſh; and drank ſome of the broth: then he mounted his camel again and rode to the *Caaba*, where he made the noon-tide prayer, and drank ſeven large draughts of the well *Zemzem*, made ſeven circuits round the *Caaba*, and concluded his carreer between the hills *Safa* and *Merwan*.

The ninth day of the feaſt, he went to perform his devotions on the hill *Arafa*: this hill, ſituated

[a] *Mahomet*'s victims were camels: *Jannabi* apud *Gagnier* vie de *Mahomet*, vol. 2. p. 265. they may be ſheep or goats; then they muſt be male: if camels or kine, female. *Sale* prelim. diſc. p. 120.

[b] *Ludovicus Patricius Romanus*, who feigning himſelf a *Moſlem*, was preſent at a pilgrimage, ſays the remainder of the ſacrificed ſheep, that was not eaten by thoſe who furniſhed them, was given to the poor, who were very numerous. lib. 1. cap. 13.

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about a mile from *Mecca*, is held in great veneration by the *Moſlems*, as a place very proper for penitence; becauſe they believe that *Adam* and *Eve*, when baniſhed out of paradiſe, were parted from each other, in order to do penance for their tranſgreſſion; and after a ſeparation of ſix ſcore years, met again upon this mountain.

At the concluſion of this *farewell pilgrimage*, as it was called, being the laſt he ever made, *Mahomet* reformed the calendar in two points: 1, he appointed the year to be exactly lunar, conſiſting of twelve lunar months, whereas, before, they uſed to make every third year conſiſt of thirteen months; in order to reduce the lunar to the ſolar year: 2, whereas the ancient *Arabians* held 4 months ſacred, wherein it was unlawful to commit any act of hoſtility, he took away that prohibition, by this command, *attack the idolaters in all the months of the year, as they attack you in all.* *Alcor.* c. 9.

In the 11th year of the *Hejira*, there arrived an ambaſſage from *Arabia Fœlix*, of about 100 who had embraced *Iſlam*. The ſame year, *Mahomet* ordered *Oſama* to go to the place where *Zaid* his father was ſlain at the battle of *Muta*, and revenge his death: this was the laſt expedition ordered by him; for, two days after, he was taken ill, and died in thirteen days: the beginning of his ſickneſs was a ſlow fever, which made him delirous; whereupon he called for pen ink and paper, and ſaid, *He would write a book that ſhould keep them from erring after his death.* *Omar* oppos'd it, ſaying the *Alcoran* is ſufficient, and that the prophet, through the greatneſs of his malady, knew not what he ſaid; others expreſt a deſire he might

write; whereon a contention aroſe, that ſo diſturbed *Mahomet* that he bid them be gone: during his illneſs, he complained of the bit he had ſwallowed at *Caibar*. Some ſay, when he was dying, *Gabriel* told him, the angel of death, who never before had been, nor would ever again be ſo ceremonious towards any body, aſked his leave to come in; *Mahomet* anſwered, *I give him leave:* the angel of death farther complimented the prophet, and told him, God was very deſirous to have him, but had commanded he ſhould take his ſoul or leave it, juſt as he himſelf ſhould pleaſe to order: *Mahomet* replied, *Take it then.*

On his death, there was great confuſion among his followers: ſome ſaid, *he was not dead, but only taken away for a ſeaſon; and would return again as Jeſus did.* And called out, do not bury the apoſtle of God, for he is not dead: *Omar* was ſo much of that mind, that he drew his ſword, and ſwore he would cut any body in pieces who ſhould ſay the prophet was dead. *Abubeker* came in and ſaid, *Do you worſhip Mahomet or the God of Mahomet? the God of Mahomet is immortal; but as for Mahomet he is certainly dead:* and proved, by ſeveral places in the *Alcoran*, that he was to die as well as other men; and not to return to life till the general reſurrection: this ſhews that it is a vulgar error to believe the *Moſlems* expect *Mahomet*'s return upon earth. When this diſorder was over, another and more violent conteſt aroſe about his burial: the *refugees*, who had accompanied him in his flight from *Mecca*, would have had him buried there, the place of his birth: the *helpers* or *Medinians* were for burying him at *Medina*, where

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he had been kindly received, in his flight: the diſpute ran ſo high, that they were near coming to blows; when *Abubeker* put an end to it, by telling them, he had often heard the apoſtle ſay, that prophets ſhould be buried in the place where they died: accordingly, his grave was digged under the bed whereon he lay, in the chamber of *Ayeſha*. The *Arabian* writers are very particular in their accounts of waſhing his body, and perfuming it; who digged his grave, who put him in, *&c. Gagnier.*[a]

They minutely deſcribe *Mahomet*'s perſon: they ſay he was of a middle ſtature, had a large head, thick beard, black eyes, hook'd noſe, wide mouth, a thick neck, flowing hair. They mention what was called the ſeal of his apoſtleſhip to have been an hairy mole as large as a pigeon's egg, between his ſhoulders, which diſappeared at his death: From whence, it ſeems, ſome who would not believe it before, concluded he was dead. His intimate *Abu Horaira* ſaid, he never ſaw a more beautiful man than the prophet. He was ſo reverenced by his bigotted diſciples, that, when he ſpat, they would gather it up and ſwallow it. *Abu'l Fed.*

The ſame writers extoll *Mahomet* for a man of fine parts, and a ſtrong memory, of few words, of a cheerful aſpect, affable and complaiſant in his behaviour: they celebrate him for his juſtice, clemency, generoſity, modeſty, abſtinence, and humility; and, as an inſtance of the laſt mentioned virtue, tell us he mended his own cloaths and ſhoes: whereas, from his actions related by the ſame writers, we muſt be convinced, that he was a very ſubtle

[a] Not. in *Abu'l Fedam*, p. 140. & vie de *Mahom.* vol. 2. p. 299.

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and crafty man, who put on the appearance only of thoſe good qualities; while the governing principles of his ſoul were ambition and luſt: for we ſee him, as ſoon as he found himſelf ſtrong enough to be upon the offenſive, plundering *caravans*; and, under a pretence of fighting for the true religion, attacking, murdering, enſlaving, and making tributary his neighbours, in order to aggrandiſe and enrich himſelf and his greedy followers: and without ſcruple making uſe of aſſaſſination to cut off thoſe who oppoſed him. Of his luſtful diſpoſition, we have a ſufficient proof, in the peculiar priviledges he claimed to himſelf, of having as many wives as he pleaſed; and ſome of them ſuch as were within forbidden degrees of affinity: they that mention the ſmalleſt number of his wives, own him to have had fifteen; whereas the *Alcoran* allows no *Moſlem* above four; he uſed to ſay his chief pleaſures were perfumes and women.

The *Alcoran* is held by the *Mahometans* in very great veneration: the book muſt not be touched by any body but a *Moſlem*; nor by him, except he be free from any legal pollution: it has been a controverſy among them which has been the occaſion of ſome violent perſecutions, whether it be created or uncreated; the moſt orthodox opinion is, that the original has been written from all eternity on *the preſerved table*. They believe that a tranſcript of it entire was brought down to the lower heaven, (*of the moon*) by the angel *Gabriel*: and from thence, taken and ſhewn to *Mahomet*, once every year of his miſſion; and twice the laſt year of his life: but that the ſeveral parts of it were, by the ſame angel, revealed to him by piece-meal; at which times,

times, he dictated what was revealed to his ſecretary, who wrote it down: and what was thus written was communicated to his diſciples, to get by heart; and then depoſited in what he called the cheſt of his apoſtleſhip: which cheſt was left in the cuſtody of his wife *Haphſa*. How the preſent book was compiled, partly out of theſe detached ſcraps, and partly out of the memories of his companions, may be ſeen in our author, vol. 1. p. 101.

When we conſider, in what manner the *Alcoran* was compiled, we cannot wonder it ſhould be ſo incoherent a piece as we find it: the book is divided into chapters; ſome of them very long ones: a few of them, eſpecially towards the end, very ſhort: each chapter has a title prefixt, taken from the firſt word, or from ſome particular thing mentioned therein; rarely from the ſubject matter of it: for, if a chapter be of any length, it uſually runs into various ſubjects that have no connection one with another. A celebrated commentator divides the contents of the *Alcoran* into three general heads: 1, *precepts* or directions; relating either to religion; as prayers, faſting, pilgrimages: or civil polity, as marriages, inheritances, judicatures: 2, *hiſtories*: whereof ſome are taken from the ſcriptures, but falſified with fabulous additions: others are falſe ſtories, that have no foundation in hiſtory. 3, *admonitions*: under which, come exhortations to receive *Iſlam*; to fight for it: to practiſe the duties of it, prayer, alms, &c. to practiſe moral duties; juſtice, temperance, &c. promiſes of everlaſting felicity to the obedient: diſuaſives from ſin: threatnings of the puniſhments of hell to the unbelieving and diſobedient. Many of the threatnings

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are levelled againſt particular perſons, and thoſe ſome times of *Mahomet*'s own family, who had oppoſed him, in propagating his religion.

In the *Alcoran* God is brought in ſaying, *we have given you a book:* by this it appears, that the impoſtor publiſhed early, in writing, ſome of his principal doctrines: as alſo ſome of his hiſtorical relations. Thus, in his life, p. 17, we find, his diſciples reading the 20th chapter of the *Alcoran*, before his flight from *Mecca*; after which he pretended many of the revelations inſerted in other chapters were brought to him: undoubtedly, all thoſe ſaid to be revealed at *Medina* muſt be poſterior to what he had then publiſhed at *Mecca*; becauſe he had not yet been at *Medina*. Many parts of the *Alcoran* he declared were brought by the angel *Gabriel* occaſionally; whereof we have had ſome inſtances in his life: the commentators often explain paſſages in that book, by ſaying on what occaſion they were revealed; which, without that key, would be perfectly unintelligible.

There are ſeveral contradictions in the *Alcoran*; to reconcile which, the *Moſlem* doctors have invented the doctrine of *abrogation*: i. e. that what was revealed at one time, was revoked by a new revelation. A great deal of it is ſo abſurd, trifling, and full of tautology, that it requires ſome patience to read much of it at a time. Notwithſtanding which, it is cried up by the *Moſlems*, as inimitable: and in the 17th chapter of the *Alcoran*, *Mahomet* is commanded to ſay, *Verily if men and genii were purpoſely aſſembled, that they might produce any thing like the Coran, they could not produce any thing like unto it; though they aſſiſted one another:* accordingly,

ly, when the Impoſtor was called upon, as he often was, to work miracles, in proof of his divine miſſion; he excuſed himſelf, by various pretences: and appealed to the *Alcoran*, as a ſtanding miracle. Each chapter of the *Alcoran* is divided into verſes; that is, lines of different length, terminated with the ſame letter, ſo as to make a rime: but without any regard to the meaſure of the ſyllables, as to long and ſhort.

The Mahometan religion conſiſts of two parts, faith and practice, faith they divide into ſix articles: 1, a belief in the unity of God, in oppoſition to thoſe whom they call *aſſociators*; by which name they mean not only thoſe who, beſides the true God, worſhip idols, or inferior gods or goddeſſes, but the chriſtians alſo, who hold our bleſſed Saviours divinity, and the doctrine of the Trinity. 2, a belief of angels; to whom they attribute various ſhapes, names, and offices, borrowed from the *Jews* and *Perſians*. 3, the ſcriptures. 4, the prophets: the *Alcoran* teaches that God revealed his will to various prophets, in divers ages of the world, and gave it in writing to *Adam*, *Seth*, *Enoch*, *Abraham*, &c. but theſe are loſt: that he gave, afterwards, the pentateuch to *Moſes*, the pſalms to *David*, the goſpel to *Jeſus*, and the *Alcoran* to *Mahomet*: it ſpeaks with great reverence of *Moſes* and *Jeſus*, but ſays the ſcriptures left by them have been greatly mutilated and corrupted: under this pretence, it adds a great many fabulous relations to the hiſtory contained in thoſe ſacred books; and charges the *Jews* and *Chriſtians* with ſuppreſſing many prophecies concerning *Mahomet*: a calumny eaſily refuted, the ſcriptures having been tranſlated into various languages,

guages, long before *Mahomet* was born. 5, the fifth article of belief is the reſurrection and day of judgment, the *Mahometan* divines have various opinions about an intermediate ſtate: the happineſs promiſed to the *Moſlems* in paradiſe is quite ſenſual; as fine gardens, rich furniture, every thing ſparkling with gems and gold, delicious fruits, and wines that neither cloy nor intoxicate, but above all, the fruition of amorous delights, with women having large black eyes, and every way of exquiſite beauty, who ſhall ever continue young, and without any imperfection: and here the impoſtor conſulted the taſte of his countrymen, who are noted by a *Roman* hiſtorian [a] as much given to lechery. Some of their writers ſpeak of theſe females of paradiſe in very high ſtrains; as, that if one of them were to look down from heaven in the night, ſhe would illuminate the earth as the ſun does: and if ſhe did but ſpit into the ocean, it would immediately be turned as ſweet as honey. Theſe delights of paradiſe were all, at firſt, certainly underſtood literally: [b] though the *Mahometan* divines have ſince allegoriz'd them into a ſpiritual ſenſe. The puniſhments threatned to the wicked are hell fire, breathing hot winds, drinking boiling and ſtinking water, eating briars and thorns, and the bitter fruit of the tree *Zacom*, which will be in their bellies like boiling pitch: and theſe to be everlaſting, except to thoſe who embrace *Iſlam*: for they, after ſuffering a number of years, in proportion to their demerits, if they have had but ſo much faith as is equal to the weight of an ant, are to be releaſed by the mercy of God, and the interceſſion of *Mahomet*, and admitted into paradiſe.

[a] *Ammianus Marcellinus.* [b] See the hiſtory vol. 1. p. 189. vol. 2. p. 168, 300.

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The ſixth article of belief is, that God decrees every thing that is to happen, not only all events, but the actions and thoughts of men, their belief, or infidelity: that every thing that has or will come to paſs has been, from eternity, written in *the preſerved* or ſecret *table*, which is a white ſtone of an immenſe largeneſs, in heaven, near the throne of God; agreeably to this notion, one of their poets thus expreſſes himſelf;

'*Whatever is written againſt thee will come to paſs, what is written for thee ſhall not fail; reſign thyſelf to God, and know thy Lord to be powerful, his decrees will certainly take place; his ſervants ought to be ſilent.*'

Of their four fundamental points of practice, the firſt is *prayer*, this duty is to be performed five times in the twenty four hours: 1, in the morning before ſun-riſe. 2, when noon is paſt. 3, a little before ſun-ſet. 4, a little after ſun-ſet. 5, before the firſt watch of the night. Previous to their prayers, they are always to purify themſelves by *waſhing*: on occaſion of ſome kinds of pollution, the whole body muſt be immerſed in water, but commonly ſome parts only, the head, the face and neck, hands and feet, are to be waſhed: in this latter ablution, called *Wodhu*, fine ſand or duſt may be uſed, when water cannot be had; laying the palm of the hand upon the ſand, and then drawing it over the part required to be waſhed. The *Mahometans*, though, out of reſpect to the divine Majeſty before whom they are to appear, they muſt be clean and decent, when they go to publick prayers, in their *moſques*; are forbidden to go in ſumptuous apparel, particularly cloaths trimmed with gold or ſilver; leſt they

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ſhould ſeem vain or arrogant: their women are not allowed to be in their *moſques*, at the ſame time with the men: they think this would make their thoughts wander from their proper buſineſs there; and reproach the Chriſtians with the impropriety of the contrary uſage. The next point of practice is *alms-giving*: which is frequently commanded in the *Alcoran*, and looked upon to be highly meritorious: and many of them have been very exemplary in the performance of this duty. The third point of practical religion is *faſting* the whole month *Ramadan*, during which, they are every day to abſtain from eating, or drinking, or touching a woman, from day-break to ſun-ſet; after that, they are at liberty to enjoy themſelves, as at other times: old perſons and children are excepted: any one that is ſick or on a journey in this month is excuſed; as are women alſo that are breeding, or giving ſuck: but then the perſon thus diſpenſed with muſt expiate the omiſſion, by faſting an equal number of days, in ſome other month; and by giving alms to the poor. There are alſo ſome other days of faſting, which are, by the more religious, obſerved in the manner above deſcribed. The laſt practical duty is going the *pilgrimage to Mecca*: this every man who is able is obliged to perform once in his life: in the ceremonies of it, they copy after the pilgrimage of *Mahomet*, deſcribed p. 68. a pilgrimage can be made only in the month *Dhulhagja*; but a *viſitation to Mecca* may be made at any other time of the year.

THE SARACENS CONQUEST OF *Syria*, *Perſia*, and *Ægypt*.

Abubeker, Firſt Caliph after *Mahomet*.

Abubeker.

MAHOMET, the great Impoſtor, and Founder of the Saracenical Empire, died at *Medinah*, on [1] Monday the ſixth of *June*, in the Year of our Lord Six Hundred and thirty-two; being the twenty-ſecond Year of the Reign of *Heraclius* the Grecian Emperor. After he was dead, the next Care to be taken was for a Succeſſor; and it was indeed very neceſſary that there ſhould be one provided as ſoon as might be: for their Government and Religion being both, as yet, very tender, and a great many of *Mahomet*'s Followers being no great Bigots, as not having yet forgotten their ancient Rites and Cuſtoms, but rather forced to leave them for Fear, than upon any Conviction; Affairs were in ſuch a Poſture as could by no means admit of an *In-*

Hegjrah XI A. D. 362.

[1] *Elmakin*, chap. 1.

Abubeker. *terregnum.* Wherefore the [2] ſame Day that he expired, the Muſlemans met together in order to the Election of a *Caliph* or Succeſſor. In which Aſſembly there had like to have been ſuch a Fray, as might, in all Probability, had not *Omar* and *Abubeker* timely interpoſed, have greatly endangered, if not proved the utter Ruin of this new Religion and Polity. For this falſe Prophet of theirs having left no poſitive Directions concerning a Succeſſor, or at leaſt, they not being known to any but his Wives, who in all Probability might conceal them out of their Partiality in Favour of *Omar*, a hot Diſpute aroſe between the Inhabitants of *Meccah* and *Medinah:* Thoſe of *Meccah* claiming moſt Right in the Prophet, as being his Countrymen and Relations, and having embraced his Religion firſt; and not only ſo, but having accompanied him in his Flight for Religion from *Meccah* to *Medinah*, when he, being perſecuted at *Meccah*, was forced to make his Eſcape with manifeſt Hazard of his Life. They urged that nothing could be of ſo great Uſe to his Perſon and Cauſe, as this Service of theirs, and conſequently none could pretend to have ſo great a Right of naming a Succeſſor as themſelves. The Inhabitants of *Medinah*, with no leſs Vehemency,

[2] *Elmakin. Abu'lpharagius.*

hemency, urged that the Prophet and their Religion were as much oblig'd to them as to the others, becauſe they had received him in his Flight, and by their Help and Aſſiſtance put him in a Capacity of making Head againſt his powerful Enemies; and that they had as much a Right in the Prophet as any others whatſoever, for protecting him in the time of his Adverſity, and upon that ſcore inſiſted upon the Right of electing a *Caliph*. In ſhort, they came to Daggers drawing, and were juſt upon falling from Words to Blows, when one of the [3] *Anſars*, or Inhabitants of *Medinah*, a Man ſomething more moderate than the reſt, fearing the Conſequences of this Diſturbance, call'd out in the midſt of the Company, that they would have two Caliphs, that is, each Party one. But *Abubeker* and the reſt of the *Mohagerins* or Inhabitants of *Meccah*, did by no means approve of ſuch an Accommodation, being deſirous that the whole Government ſhould remain in the Hands of their own Party. Then *Abubeker* ſtepped forth and told them, that he would name two Perſons, and they ſhould chuſe which of them both Parties could agree upon. The one was *Omar*, the other *Abu Obeid*. Upon which Motion the Company was again divid- Abubeker.

[3] Arab. *The Helpers*, becauſe they helped *Mahomet* when he fled to *Medinah*.

Abubeker. ed, and the Contention renewed afreſh, one Party ſtill crying out for the one, and the other for the other. At laſt *Omar* being wearied out, and ſeeing no Likelihood of deciding the Matter, was willing to give over, and bad *Abubeker* give him his Hand; which he had no ſooner done, but *Omar* promiſed him Fealty. The reſt all followed his Example, and ſo by the Conſent of both Parties *Abubeker* was at laſt ſaluted Caliph, and acknowledg'd the rightful Succeſſor of their Prophet *Mahomet*, and was now abſolute Judge of all Cauſes both Sacred and Civil. And thus that Difference was at laſt, with much ado, compoſed, which had like to have been fatal to Mahometaniſm. And certainly it was a very great Overſight in *Mahomet* not to name a Succeſſor poſitively and publickly all the time of his Sickneſs; which if he had done, his Authority had without queſtion determined the Buſineſs, and prevented that Diſturbance, by which the Religion which he had been planting with ſo much Difficulty and Hazard, had like to have been endanger'd.

[4] One Author tells us, that *Mahomet*, when he was ſick, commanded ſome that were about him to bid *Abubeker* ſay Prayers publickly in the Congregation: Which Deſire of his to have

[4] *Ahmed Ebn Mohammed Ebn Abdi Rabbihi*; M. S. Arab. Huntington. Num. 554.

Abubeker

Abubeker officiate in his Place, looks very much as if he deſign'd he ſhould ſucceed him; and was ſo underſtood by his Wives *Ayeſha* and *Haphſah*, who were both preſent when *Mahomet* gave this Order, and endeavour'd what they could to have it revok'd. For as ſoon as *Mahomet* had ſpoken, *Ayeſha* told him, that if *Abubeker* went into his Place (meaning the Pulpit from which he us'd to ſpeak to the People) the Congregation would not be able to hear him for weeping, and deſir'd him to order *Omar* to go up; which he refuſing, *Ayeſha* ſpoke to *Haphſah* to ſecond her. The Importunity of them both put the Prophet into ſuch a violent Paſſion, that he told them they were as bad as *Joſeph*'s Miſtreſs, and commanded them again to ſend *Abubeker*. To which *Haphſah* anſwer'd; *O Apoſtle of God, now thou art ſick, and haſt preferr'd* Abubeker. He anſwer'd, *'Tis not I that have given him the Preference, but God.* Abubeker.

The Conteſt which happen'd immediately after his Deceaſe makes it evident, that theſe Words of his had no Influence in the Election of *Abubeker*, but that it was chiefly owing to *Omar*'s Reſignation. Who notwithſtanding that he was the firſt that propoſed *Abubeker* to the Aſſembly, and own'd him as *Caliph*, did not ſo well approve afterwards of that Choice, which

Abubeker. Neceſſity put him upon at that critical Juncture, as appears by what he ſaid: The Contents of which were, [5] "That he pray'd to God "to avert the ill Conſequences, which it was "to be feared would follow upon ſuch an in-"diſcreet Choice. That if ever any one ſhould "do ſuch a Thing again, he would deſerve "Death; and if any one ſhould ever ſwear "Fealty to another without the Conſent of the "reſt of the Muſſemans, both he that took the "Government upon him, and he that ſwore to "him, ought to be put to Death." Theſe, and other ſuch like Expreſſions, were evident Signs of his Diſlike; but it being done and paſt, there was no other Remedy, but to ſit down at quiet, and reſt himſelf contented.

Now though the Government was actually ſettled upon *Abubeker*, yet all Parties were not equally ſatisfied; for a great many were of Opinion, that the Right of Suceeſſion did belong to *Ali*, the Son of *Abu Taleb*. Upon which account the Mahometans were ever ſince that time divided; ſome maintaining that *Abubeker*, and thoſe other two, *Omar* and *Othman*, that came after him, were the rightful and lawful Succeſſors; and others diſclaiming their Title altogether as Uſurpers, and conſtantly aſſerting the Right of *Ali*. Of the former Opinion are

[5] *Abu'lpharagius.*

the

the *Turks* at this Day; of the latter, the *Perſians*. Which makes ſuch a Difference between thoſe two Nations, that notwithſtanding their Agreement in other Points of their Superſtition, they do upon this account treat one another as moſt damnable Hereticks. *Ali* had this to recommend him, that he was *Mahomet*'s Couſin German, and was the [6] firſt that embrac'd his Religion, except his Wife *Cadijah*, and his Slave *Zeid*, and beſides was *Mahomet*'s Son-in-Law, having married his Daughter *Phatemah*. *Abubeker* was *Mahomet*'s Father-in-Law, and was very much reſpected by him, ſo that he gave him the Sirname of *Aſſiddîck*, which ſignifies in *Arabick*, one that is a great Speaker of Truth [7], becauſe he reſolutely aſſerted the Truth of that Story which *Mahomet* told of his [8] going one Night to Heaven. And oftentimes he uſed to expreſs a great deal of Kindneſs for him [9]. Once as he ſaw him coming towards him, he ſaid to thoſe that were about him: *If any one takes delight in looking upon a Man that has eſcaped from the Fire of Hell, let him look upon* Abubeker. *God, whoſe Name be bleſſed, hath given Man his Choice of this World or that which is with Him, and this Servant* (meaning *Abube-* Abubeker.

[6] *Elmakin.* [7] *Elmakin.* [8] Alcoran, chap. XVII. 1.
[9] *Ibrahim Ebn Mohammed Ebn Dokmâk*, M.S. Arab. Laud. Numm. 806. 11.

Abubeker. *ker*) *hath choſen that which is with God.* Such Marks of Eſteem as theſe muſt needs procure him a great Reſpect from thoſe who look'd upon *Mahomet* as a Perſon inſpired, and the Apoſtle of God; and did without queſtion facilitate his Promotion to the Dignity of *Caliph.*

Ali was not preſent at this Election, and when he heard the News, was not well pleas'd, as hoping that he ſhould have been the Man. *Abubeker* ſent [1] *Omar* to *Phatemah*'s Houſe, where *Ali* and ſome of his Friends were, with Orders to compel them to come in by Force, if they would not do it by fair means. *Omar* was juſt a going to fire the Houſe, and *Phatemah* aſk'd him, what he meant? He told her, that he would certainly burn the Houſe down, unleſs they would be content to do as the reſt of the people had done. Upon which *Ali* came forth and went to *Abubeker* and acknowledged his Sovereignty [2], tho' he did not forget to tell him, that he wondered he would take ſuch a thing without his notice. To which *Abubeker* anſwer'd, that the Exigency of the Matter was ſuch as would by no means admit of Deliberation, becauſe if it had not been done on a ſudden, it 'twas to be fear'd that the Government would have been wrung out of their Hands by

[1] *Iſmael Abu'lpheda Kitab Almoctâſer phi Achari Bhaſha'.* M. S. Arab. Pocock. Num. 330. [2] *Abu'lpharagius.*

the

the oppoſite Party. And, to make things ſlide the more eaſily, ſeem'd to be deſirous of quitting his Charge and reſigning the Government: And ſo goes up into the Pulpit, and there openly before them all deſir'd, that they would give him Leave to reſign and confer that Charge upon ſome more worthy Perſon; but *Ali*, fearing the ill Will of the People, [3] whoſe Minds he perceiv'd were eſtranged from him, for having already ſtood it out ſo long, and being loath to make any new Diſturbance, utterly refus'd to hear of it, and told him, that they would neither depoſe him themſelves, nor deſire that he ſhould reſign. And thus things were pretty well accommodated, and thoſe of *Medinah*, as well as thoſe of *Meccah*, conſented to own *Abubeker*, as the true and rightful Succeſſor of their Prophet *Mahomet*; only *Ali*, tho' he made no ſtir, look'd upon himſelf as injur'd [4], and there is a Story told by Tradition, which is reported to have been deliver'd by *Ayeſha*, that *Ali* did not come in till after the Deceaſe of his Wife *Phatemah*, who liv'd ſix Months after the Death of *Mahomet* her Father. Abubeker.

[5] *Abubeker* being thus fix'd in his new Government, had Work enough to ſecure it; for the *Mahometan* Religion had not as yet taken

[3] *Elmakin*, Chap. 2. [4] *Abu'lpheda*. [5] *Abu'lpharagius*.

ſuch

Abubeker. ſuch deep Root in the Hearts of Men, but that they would very willingly have ſhaken it off again, if they had known how. The *Arabians* therefore, being a People of an unquiet reſtleſs Diſpoſition, would not omit this Opportunity of rebelling, which they thought was fairly offer'd them by the Death of *Mahomet*, but immediately take Arms, and refuſe to pay the uſual Tribute, Tithes and Alms, and begin to neglect thoſe Rites and Cuſtoms, which had been impos'd upon them by *Mahomet*. *Abubeker*, and thoſe about him at *Medinah*, took the Alarm, and fearing a general Revolt, and expecting no leſs than to be beſet on every Side, began to conſider which way they might beſt provide for the Security of themſelves and their Families. In order to which, they diſpos'd of their Women and Children, and ſuch others as were not able to bear Arms, in the Clefts and Cavities of the Rocks and Mountains, and put themſelves in a Poſture of Defence. In the mean time, *Abubeker* ſends *Caled Ebn Waled*, with an Army of four thouſand and five hundred Men, to ſuppreſs the Rebels, who having routed them in a ſet Battle, brought off a great deal of Plunder, and made Slaves of their Children.

[6] The chief amongſt thoſe that refus'd to pay the *Zacât*, which is that part of a Man's Sub-

[6] *Abu'lpheda.*

ſtance,

ſtance, which is conſecrated to God, as Tithes, Alms, and the like, and is ſtrictly enjoyn'd by the Mahometan Law, was *Malec Ebn Noweirah*, a Man that made a conſiderable Figure in thoſe Days, being the chief of an eminent Family among the *Arabs*, and celebrated for his Skill in Poetry, as well as his Manhood and Horſemanſhip. *Abubeker* ſent *Caled* to him, to talk with him about it, *Malec* told him, *that he could ſay his Prayers without paying that.* *Caled* aſk'd him, if he did not know that Prayers and Alms muſt go together, and that the one would not be accepted without the other? What! does your Maſter ſay ſo? ſays *Malec?* Then don't you own him for your Maſter? ſaid *Caled*; and ſwore that he had a good Mind to ſtrike his Head off. They diſputed the Matter a while; and, at laſt, *Caled* told him he ſhould die. Did your Maſter ſay ſo? ſays *Malec*. What! again? ſays *Caled*, and reſolved upon his Death, tho' *Abdo'llah Ebn Amer* and *Kobâdah* interceded for him in vain. When *Malec* ſaw there was no way for him to eſcape, he turn'd him about, and look'd upon his Wife, who was a Woman of admirable Beauty, and ſaid, *This Woman has kill'd me.* *Nay*, ſays *Caled*, *God has kill'd thee, becauſe of thy Apoſtacy from the true Religion. I profeſs the true Religion*, ſays *Malec*, meaning the Mahometan. The Word

Abubeker.

was

Abubeker. was no ſooner out of his Mouth, but *Caled* order'd *Derar Ben Alazwar*, a Perſon we ſhall ſee more of hereafter, to ſtrike his Head off. At which *Abubeker* was very much concerned, and would have put *Caled* to Death, if *Omar* had not interceded for him; And indeed he did out of his great Zeal exceed the Limits of his Commiſſion; for *Mahomet* himſelf would have pardon'd an Apoſtate, provided he had been very well aſſur'd of his Repentance.

Having this Opportunity of mentioning this great Man *Caled*, we muſt not paſs him by, without taking ſome Notice of his Character. He was the beſt General of the Age he liv'd in, and it was to his Courage and Conduct that the Saracens chiefly owe the ſubduing of the Rebels, the Conqueſt of *Syria*, and the Eſtabliſhment of their Religion and Polity. 'Tis to be queſtion'd whether his Love and Tenderneſs towards his own Soldiers, or his Hatred and Averſion to the Enemies of the Mahometan Religion, was greateſt; for upon all Occaſions he us'd to give very ſignal Inſtances of both. He was a moſt irreconcileable and implacable Enemy to thoſe who had once embrac'd the Mahometan Religion, and then apoſtatiz'd; nor would he ſpare them, tho' ſhewing the greateſt Signs of unfeigned Repentance. His Valour was ſo ſurpriſing, that the *Arabs* call'd him *The Sword of God*;

God; which Sir-name of his was known alſo to his Enemies, and is [7] mentioned as well by *Greek* as *Arab* Authors. If it did at any time (which was not often) carry him beyond the Bounds of his Conduct, it always brought him off ſafe again. He never, in the greateſt Danger loſt his wonted Preſence of Mind, but could as well extricate himſelf, and his Men from preſent Difficulties, as prevent future ones. Abubeker.

By' him the Rebels being ſuppreſs'd, the Mahometans were in ſome meaſure eas'd of the Fear they ſtood in before, but there were ſtill more Difficulties behind; for about this time ſeveral, perceiving the Succeſs and Proſperity of *Mahomet* and his Followers, ſet up for Prophets too, in Hopes of the like good Fortune, and making themſelves eminent in the World: Such were *Oſud Alabbaſi* and *Tuleibah Ebn Choweieed*, with ſeveral others, which quickly came to nothing. But the moſt conſiderable of theſe was *Moſeilam*, who had emulated *Mahomet* in his Life-time, and trumpt up a Book in Imitation of the *Alcoran*. He had formerly been [8] with *Mahomet*, and profeſs'd himſelf of his Religion, and might have been Partner with him in his Impoſture; but looking upon that to be beneath him, he utterly renounc'd all further

[7] Ἐξῆρτον δὲ εἰς Ἀμιρᾶς ὁ Χάλιδος ὃν λέγουσι μάχαιραν τῦ Θεῦ. Theophanes, p. 278. Edit. Pariſ. [8] *Abu'lpheda.*

Fami-

Abubeker. Familiarity and Correſpondence with him, and was reſolv'd to ſet up for himſelf, which he did the Year before *Mahomet* died. He had now gather'd together a very conſiderable Body of Men in *Yemamah*, a Province of *Arabia*, and began to be ſo formidable, that the Muſlemans were under ſome Apprehenſions of his growing Greatneſs, and did not think it any way conſiſtent with Prudence to neglect him any longer, knowing very well, that as ſoon as he ſhould be ſtrong enough, they and their Religion would quickly come to nothing. They therefore thought it moſt adviſeable to ſet upon him firſt, and rather hazard the Event of a Battle at the Beginning, than by ſuffering him to go on too long, and gather more Strength, fruſtrate all Manner of Hopes of a victory. Upon this they move *Abubeker* to ſend ſufficient Forces, under the Conduct of ſome experienc'd Commander, in order to deſtroy him. *Abubeker* forthwith diſpatches *Akramah* and [9] *Sergîl*, with an Army, and Order to march directly towards *Yemamah*. After them he ſends *Caled*, the Scourge of Rebels, Apoſtates and falſe Prophets, who having join'd Forces with them, they had an Army of [1] forty thouſand Muſlemans. *Moſeilam*, in the mean time, was not idle, and knowing that his Life and Reputation were now at Stake

[9] Or rather, *Serjabil*. [1] *Elmakin*.

prepar'd

prepared to give them Battle. The Muſlemans [2] encamped at a Place called *Akreba*; and *Moſeilam* with his Army, was juſt oppoſite to them. They drew near as faſt as they could, and *Moſeilam* charged the Muſlemans with ſuch Fury, that they were not able to make good their Ground againſt him, but were forced to retire with the Loſs of twelve hundred Men. The Muſlemans rather provoked than diſcouraged by this Defeat, not long after renewed the Fight, and then began a moſt bloody Battle, *Moſeilam* all the while behaving himſelf courageouſly, was at laſt thruſt thro' with a Javelin, ([3] the ſame with which *Hamza*, *Mahomet*'s Uncle, was kill'd) by a Slave, a Black. He being dead, the Victory eaſily enclined to the Muſlemans; who having killed the falſe Prophet, and ten thouſand of his Men, and obliged thoſe that were left to turn Mahometans, returned to *Medinah*, the Seat of the *Caliph*, richly laden with the Spoil of their Enemies. Abubeker.

This ſame Year, being the firſt of *Abubeker*'s Reign, *Al Ola* was ſent with a conſiderable Army to reduce the Rebels in *Baerein*, which he did without any great Difficulty, killing a great many of them, and ſeizing their Effects, ſo that a great many of them choſe rather to return to the Mahometan Superſtition, which

[2] *Abu'lpharagius.* [3] *Abu'lpheda.*

upon

Abubeker. upon the Death of *Mahomet* they had forſaken, than expoſe themſelves, by obſtinately ſtanding it out, to all the Miſeries and Calamities of War.

'Tis ſtrange and ſurpriſing, to conſider from how mean and contemptible Beginnings the greateſt things have, by the Providence of God, been raiſed in a ſhort time, of which the Saracenical Empire is a very conſiderable Inſtance; for if we look back about eleven Years, we ſhall find how *Mahomet*, unable to ſupport his Cauſe, routed and oppreſſed by the powerful Party of the *Koraſhites* at *Meccah*, attended by a very ſmall Number of his deſpairing Followers, fled to *Medinah*, no leſs for the Preſervation of his Life, than his Impoſture; And now, within ſo ſhort a time after, we find the Undertakings of his Succeſſor proſper ſo much beyond Expectation, as to become a Terror to all his Neighbours; and the Saracens in a Capacity, not only of keeping in their own Hands their *Peninſula* of *Arabia*, but of extending their Arms over larger Territories, than ever were ſubject to the *Romans* themſelves. Whilſt they were employed in *Arabia*, they were little regarded by the Grecian Emperor, who now too late felt them pouring in upon him like a Torrent, and driving all before them. The proud *Perſian* too, who ſo very lately had been domineering in

Syria,

Syria, and ſacked *Jeruſalem* and *Damaſcus* muſt be forc'd to part with his own Dominions, and ſubmit his Neck to the Saracenic Yoke. It may be reaſonably ſuppoſed, that, had the Empire been in the ſame flouriſhing Condition as it had been formerly, they might have been checked at leaſt, if not extinguiſhed: But beſides that the Weſtern Empire had been torn away by the barbarous *Goths*, the Eaſtern part of it had received ſo many Shocks from the *Hunns* on the one ſide, and the *Perſians* on the other, that it was not in a Capacity to ſtop the Violence of ſuch a powerful Invaſion [4]. In the Emperor *Mauricius* his Time, the Empire paid Tribute to the *Chagân* or King of the *Hunns* [5]. And after *Phocas* had murdered his Maſter, ſuch lamentable havock there was among the Soldiers, that when *Heraclius* came (not much above ſeven Years after) to muſter the Army, there were only two Soldiers left alive, of all thoſe who bore Arms when *Phocas* firſt uſurped the Empire. And tho' *Heraclius* was a Prince of admirable Courage and Conduct, and had done what poſſibly could be done to reſtore the Diſcipline of the Army, and had had great Succeſs againſt the Perſians, ſo as to drive them not only out of his Dominions, but even out

Abubeker.

[4] *Theophylactus Simocatta, Hiſtor. Maurician.* [5] *Theophanes* in the Life of *Heraclius*.

Abubeker. of their own; yet ſtill the very Vitals of the Empire ſeemed to be mortally wounded; that there could no time have happened more fatal to the Empire, nor more favourable to the Enterpriſes of the *Saracens*, who ſeem to have been raiſed up on purpoſe by God to be a Scourge to the Chriſtian Church, for not living anſwerably to that moſt Holy Religion which they had received.

Abubeker had now ſet Affairs at home in pretty good Order. The Apoſtates, which upon the Death of *Mahomet* had revolted to the Idolatry in which they were born and bred up, were reduced. The Forces of *Moſeilamah*, the falſe Prophet, were broken to Pieces, and himſelf killed; ſo that there was little or nothing left to be done in *Arabia*. For though there were a great many Chriſtian *Arabs*, as particularly the Tribe of *Gaſſân*, yet they were generally employed in the *Grecian* Emperor's Service. So that the next Buſineſs the Caliph had to do, was, purſuant to the Tenor of his Religion, to make War upon his Neighbours for the Propagation of the *Truth*, (for ſo they call their Superſtition) and compel them either to become *Mahometans* or [6] Tributaries[7]. For their Prophet *Mahomet* had given them a Commiſſion of

[6] *Alcoran*, Chap. IX. 29. [7] See the *Alcoran*, Chap. VIII. 40.

a very large, nay unlimited Extent, which was, to fight till all People were of their Religion. And thoſe Wars which are undertaken upon this account, they call *Holy Wars*, with no leſs Abſurdity than we call that ſo which was once undertaken againſt them by the *Europeans*. *Abubeker* therefore ſends *Caled* with ſome Forces into *Irâk* or *Babylonia*; but his greateſt Longing was after *Syria*, which being a delicate, pleaſant, fruitful Country, and near to *Arabia*, ſeemed to lie very conveniently for him [8]. After he had fully reſolved to invade it, he called his Friends about him, and made a Speech; in which he ſet before them the great Succeſs they had been proſpered with already, and told them that the Prophet [*Mahomet*] had aſſured him before his Deceaſe, that their Religion ſhould make a great Progreſs, and their Territories be vaſtly enlarged, and that he had Thoughts himſelf of invading *Syria*: But ſince it had pleaſed God to prevent the Prophet's Deſigns by taking him away, and he was left Succeſſor, he deſired their Advice. They anſwered unanimouſly, that they were all at his Service, and ready to obey to the utmoſt of their Power

Abubeker. Alwâkidi.

[8] *Photouhhoſhâm*, i.e. The Conqueſts of *Syria*, written by *Abu Abdollah Mohammed Ben Omar Alwâkidi. M. S. Arab. Laud. Num. A.* 118. And there is another Copy of it among Dr. *Pocock*'s MSS. *Num.* 326. Out of this Author whatever relates to *Syria* is taken for the moſt part.

Abubeker. Alwâkidi.

whatever he ſhould be pleaſed to command them. Upon this he ſends circular Letters to the petty Princes of *Arabia Fælix*, and other *Mahometan* Officers and Præfects, and to the Inhabitants of *Meccah* in particular, to command them to raiſe the utmoſt of their Forces, and with all poſſible ſpeed repair to him at *Medinah*. The Contents of the Letter were as follows.

In the Name of the moſt merciful God.

[9] Abdollah Athik Ebn Abi Kohâpha, *to the reſt of the true Believers. Health and Happineſs, and the Mercy and Bleſſing of God be upon you. I praiſe the moſt high God, and I pray for his Prophet* Mahomet. *This is to acquaint you, that I intend to ſend the true Believers into* Syria, *to take it out of the Hands of the Infidels. And I would have you know, that the fighting for Religion is an Act of Obedience to God.*

He had ſent this Letter out but a few Days, e'er the Meſſenger that carried it returned, and brought him word, that he had not delivered his Letter to any one Perſon but what had received it with great Expreſſions of Satisfaction, and a Readineſs to comply with his Commands. And accordingly in a ſhort time after, a very conſiderable Army, raiſed out of the ſeveral Pro-

[9] Theſe were *Abubeker*'s Sirnames.

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vinces of *Arabia*, came to wait upon him at *Medinah*, and pitched their tents round about the City. They waited ſome time, without receiving any Orders from the Caliph. But the Weather was ſo extremely hot, and the Country ſo barren, that they were very hard put to it for Proviſion both for themſelves and their Horſes. Which made them complain to their Officers, and deſire them to ſpeak to *Abubeker* about it. Upon which one of them made bold to tell him, *You were pleaſed to ſend for us, and we obeyed your Commands with all poſſible ſpeed; and now we are come here we are kept in ſuch a barren Place, that we have nothing to ſubſiſt our Army. Therefore if your Mind be altered, and you have no further Occaſion for us, be pleaſed to diſmiſs us.* The reſt of the Heads of the Tribes ſeconded him. *Abubeker* told them, that he was far from deſigning them any Injury in detaining them ſo long, but only he was willing to have his Army as compleat as he could. To which they anſwered, That they had not left a Man behind them that was fit for Service. Then *Abubeker* went with ſome of his Friends to the Top of a Hill, to take a View of the Army, and prayed to God to endue them with Courage, and aſſiſt them, and not deliver them into the Hands of their Enemies. Afterwards he walked on Foot with them a little way, and the Gene-

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rals rode. At laſt they told him, that they were aſhamed to ride whilſt he was on Foot. To which he anſwered, *I ſhall find my Account with God for theſe Steps, and you ride for the Service of God:* meaning, that there was no Difference in that Matter, ſo long as they were all concerned in the propagating their Religion. Then he took his Leave of them, and directed his Speech to *Yezid Ebn Abi Sophyan*, whom he had appointed General of theſe Forces, after this manner. Yezid, *be ſure you do not oppreſs your own People, nor make them uneaſy, but adviſe with them in all your Affairs, and take Care to do that which is right and juſt, for thoſe that do otherwiſe ſhall not proſper. When you meet with your Enemies, quit your ſelves like Men, and don't turn your Backs; and if you get the Victory, kill no little Children, nor old People, nor Women. Deſtroy no Palm-Trees, nor burn any Fields of Corn. Cut down no Fruit-trees, nor do any Miſchief to Cattle, only ſuch as you kill to eat. When you make any Covenant or Article, ſtand to it, and be as good as your Word. As you go on, you will find ſome religious Perſons, that live retired in Monaſteries, who propoſe to themſelves to ſerve God that way: Let them alone, and neither kill them, nor deſtroy their Monaſteries. And you will find another ſort of People that belong to the Synagogues of Satan, who have ſhaven Crowns;*

Crowns; be ſure you cleave their Skulls; and give them no Quarter, till they either turn Mahometans or pay Tribute. When he had given them this Charge, he went back to *Medinah*, and the Army marched on towards *Syria*. Abubeker. Alwákidi.

The News of this Preparation quickly came to the Ears of the Emperor *Heraclius*, who call'd a Council forthwith, and inveighed againſt the Wickedneſs and Inſincerity of his Subjects, and told them that theſe Judgments were come upon them becauſe they had not lived anſwerably to the Rules of the Goſpel. He repreſented to them, that whereas in former times, powerful Princes, as the *Turk* and *Perſian*, had not been able to overcome them, they were now inſulted by the *Arabs*, a pitiful, contemptible People. Then he ſent ſome Forces with all poſſible ſpeed, but with ill Succeſs, for their General with twelve hundred of his Men was kill'd upon the ſpot, and the reſt routed, the *Arabs* in that Battle loſing only one hundred and twenty Men. There were afterwards a great many Skirmiſhes, in which the Chriſtians came off by the worſt. The *Arabs* enriched with Spoil, concluded to make the *Caliph* a Preſent of all they had gotten, as the firſt Fruits of their Expedition; Arms and Ammunition only excepted. As ſoon as *Abubeker* had received the Spoil; he ſent a Letter to the Inhabi-

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tants of *Meccah*, and the adjacent Territories, in which he acquainted them with the good Succeſs of his Forces, and call'd upon them not to be behind hand in fighting for the Cauſe of God. The good Succeſs of their Brethren gave them ſuch Encouragement, that they obey'd the Motion with as much Chearfulneſs, as if their being called to war had been nothing elſe but being invited to partake of the Spoil. Whereupon they quickly raiſed an Army, and waited upon *Abubeker* at *Medinah*, who forthwith ordered them to join thoſe Forces which he had before ſent into *Syria*. He had made *Saëd Ebn Caled* General of this Army; but when *Omar* expreſs'd his Diſlike of it, the *Caliph* was in a Streight, being loth to take away *Saëd*'s Commiſſion as ſoon as he had given it him; and on the other hand, not willing to diſoblige *Omar*. In this Difficulty he applies himſelf to *Ayeſha*, (*Mahomet*'s Widow) for whom they had a great Reſpect upon the Account of her near Relation to their Prophet *Mahomet*, and us'd frequently to conſult her after his Deceaſe, ſuppoſing that ſhe, being his beſt beloved Wife, might be better acquainted with his Thoughts both of Perſons and Things than any other. When he came to her, ſhe told him, that for *Omar*'s part he meant for the beſt when he gave that Advice, and that ſhe was ſure he did not ſpeak it out of

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any Hatred or ill Will. Upon this *Abubeker* ſends a Meſſenger to *Saëd*, to remand the Standard, which he very patiently reſigned, and ſaid, *He cared not who had the Standard; let whoſoever will have it, he was reſolv'd to fight under it for the Propagation of Religion.* So vehement and earneſt were thoſe Men whom God had raiſed up to be a Scourge to the Church, that no Affront whatſoever could diſoblige them ſo far as to make them lay aſide their Reſolutions. Abubeker, Alwâkidi.

Whilſt the *Caliph* was in doubt how to diſpoſe of this Commiſſion, *Amrou Ebno'l Aás*, a very good Soldier, who afterwards conquered *Ægypt*, went to *Omar*, and deſired him to make uſe of his Intereſt with the *Caliph*, that it might be conferred upon him. But *Omar*, whether out of any Antipathy to his Perſon, or becauſe he thought no Man worthy of a Charge that ſought after it, utterly refus'd to meddle in it. And when *Amrou* perſiſted, and was very inſtant with him, *Omar* bad him *not ſeek for the Superiority and Dominion of this World*; and told him, *That if he was not a Prince to Day, he would be one to Morrow*; meaning in a future State. And now *Amrou* was out of all Hopes of having any Command; when preſently the *Caliph*, of his own accord, made him General of his Army, and bad him, " Take " Care to live religiouſly, and let the enjoying

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" the Preſence of God and a future State, be " the End and Aim of all his Undertakings, and " look upon himſelf as a dying Man, and al- " ways have regard to the End of things; and " remember that we muſt in a ſhort time all " die, and riſe again, and be called to an account. " He ordered him not to go where the other " Muſlemans had been before him, but march " into *Paleſtine*. And that he ſhould take care " to inform himſelf of *Abu Obeidah*'s Circum- " ſtances, and aſſiſt him what he could. That " he ſhould not be inquiſitive about Mens pri- " vate Concerns; but take care that his Men " were diligent in reading the *Alcoran*, and not " ſuffer them to talk about thoſe Things which " were done in *the Times of Ignorance* (ſo they " call all the time before *Mahomet*) becauſe that " would be the Occaſion of Diſſention among " them."

After he had diſmiſs'd *Amrou*, he ſent *Abu Obeidah* into *Syria*, to command all the Forces there, and told him, that there was no need of ſaying any thing new to him, ſince he had heard the Charge he had given to *Amrou*. One of the Grecian Emperor's Generals had the good Fortune to beat the Muſlemans in *Syria*; and *Abu Obeidah*, apprehenſive of the Emperor's Power, durſt not act offenſively. Which as ſoon as the *Caliph* underſtood, he judg'd him unworthy of

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that Poſt, and recalled *Caled* from *Irâk* to take his Place. *Caled* had performed great Things, conſidering the ſhort time he had been gone. He had taken *Hirah*, (afterwards the Imperial Seat of *Alſeffàh*) and ſeveral other Places, not able to endure a Siege, had ſubmitted to him, and paid Tribute. *Elmakîn* ſays, that this was the firſt Tribute that was ever brought to *Medinah*. He had fought ſeveral Battles in which he never fail'd of Succeſs, and would without doubt have puſhed on his Conqueſt if he had not been recalled. When he came into *Syria*, he took different Meaſures from thoſe which had been uſed before; and the Soldiers found a great Difference between a pious and a warlike General. *Abu Obeidah* was patient, meek and religious; *Caled* couragious and enterprizing. At that time when he came to the Army, *Abu Obeidah* had ſent *Serjabil* with four thouſand Horſe towards *Boſtra*, a City of *Syria Damaſcena*, and very populous, in which there were at that time twelve thouſand Horſe. It was a great trading Town, which the *Arabs* uſed to frequent much. The Governour's Name was *Romanus*, who, as ſoon as he heard that the *Saracens* were upon their March, went to meet them, and aſked *Serjabil* the Reaſon of his Coming, and ſeveral other Queſtions relating to *Mahomet* and his Succeſſor. *Serjabil* told him, that

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that the Reaſon of their Coming was to give them their Choice of becoming Mahometans or Tributaries; and added, that they had taken *Aracah*, *Sachnah*, *Tadmor*, and *Hawrân*, and would not be long before they came to *Boſtra*. The Governour, hearing this melancholy Story, went back, and would have perſwaded the People to have paid Tribute. They utterly refuſed it, and prepared themſelves for a vigorous Defence. *Serjabil* continued his March till he came before *Boſtra*; the Beſieged ſallied out, and gave him Battle. The Prayer which he uſed was this: *O thou Eternal Being! O thou Creator of Heaven and Earth! O thou who art Great and Munificent! who haſt promiſed us Victory by the Tongue of thy Prophet* Mahomet, *and the Conqueſt of* Syria, Irâk, *and* Perſia! *O God, confirm our Hopes, and help thoſe who aſſert thy Unity againſt thoſe that deny thee. O God, aſſiſt us as thou didſt thy Prophet* Mahomet. *O Lord, endue us with Patience, and*[1] *keep our Feet ſure, and help us againſt the Infidels.* The Chriſtians had the Advantage by much in the Battle, and the Saracens were like to have been beaten off, if *Caled* had not come ſeaſonably to their Relief: But his Arrival turn'd the Fortune of the Day, and the Beſieged were forced to retire into the City. Then *Caled* aſked *Serjabil*, what

1 *Alcoran*, III. 141.

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he meant by attacking ſuch a Place as *Boſtra*, which was as it were the Market-Place of *Syria*, *Irâk*, and *Hejàz*, and where there was always ſuch a great Reſort of all ſorts of Perſons, and a great many Officers and Soldiers, with ſuch an handful of Men? *Serjabil* told him, that he did not go of his own Accord, but by *Abu Obeidah*'s Command. *Abu Obeidah*, ſaid *Caled*, *is a very honeſt Man, but underſtands nothing of military Affairs.* Then *Caled* took Care and refreſhed his Men, and ordered them to reſt, for they were all extreamly fatigu'd, as well thoſe that had marched that Day with him, as thoſe that had fought under *Serjabil*; only he took a freſh Horſe himſelf, and rode about all Night, ſometimes going round the City, and ſometimes round the Camp, for fear the Beſieged ſhould make any Excurſions, eſpecially at ſuch a time as his Men were tired, and out of Order. In the Morning, about break of Day, he came into the Camp, and the Muſlemans aroſe, and, according to their Cuſtom, ſome of them purify'd themſelves with Water; and others, who could not conveniently furniſh themſelves with Water, rubb'd themſelves with Sand, (for that is allowed in Caſe of Neceſſity, and is frequently uſed, eſpecially by ſuch Mahometans as travel in thoſe deſert Countries, where there is great Scarcity of Water) and their general

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Caled

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Caled ſaid the Morning-Prayer among them, and then they took Horſe immediately, for the Beſieged had ſet open the Gates of the City, and drawn out their men into the Plain, and taken an Oath to be true to one another, and fight it out to the laſt Man; which when *Caled* ſaw, he ſaid, *Theſe Villains come out now, becauſe they know we are weary: Come, let us go on, and the Bleſſing of God go along with us.* Both Armies were ſet in Battle Array, and now *Romanus* the Governour, who thought it the beſt way to ſecure himſelf and his Wealth, tho' at the Expence of Honour, Soul, and Conſcience, took an Opportunity to let *Caled* know, that he had more Friends than he was aware of. He rides before the reſt of the Army, and with a loud Voice challenges the Saracen General, who quickly came forth to him; he tells him, that he had for a long time entertain'd a favourable Opinion of the Mahometan Religion, and ſeemed to be very willing to renounce his own, upon Condition, that *Caled* would ſecure him, and what belong'd to him; which he readily promiſed. *Romanus* added, that he had, upon *Serjabil*'s firſt coming to beſiege the Town, adviſ'd the Inhabitants to ſubmit to the Muſlemans, and pay Tribute; but that inſtead of being heard, he had only purchaſed the ill Will of the Citizens by his

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good Counſel. In ſhort, he ſaid whatever he could think on that might ingratiate himſelf with the Saracen, and proffer'd his Service to go back again, and perſwade the Beſieged to ſurrender. *Caled* told him, that it would not be ſafe for him to go back again, without having firſt fought with him, becauſe then it would appear plainly how well they were agreed, which might occaſion ſome Danger to him from his own People: So they agreed to make a Shew of fighting, to colour the Matter the better; and after a while *Romanus*, as being beaten, was to run away. The armies on both ſides ſaw them together, but no body knew what they ſaid. Immediately this Mock-Combat began, and *Caled* laid on ſo furiouſly, that *Romanus* was in danger of his Life, and aſk'd *Caled*, whether that was his way of fighting in jeſt, and if he deſigned to kill him? *Caled* ſmiled, and told him, No, but that it was neceſſary for them to ſhow ſomething of a Fight, to prevent their being ſuſpected. *Romanus* made his Eſcape; and indeed it was high time, for the Saracen had handled him ſo roughly, that whoſoever had ſeen him after the Combat, would have had little Reaſon to have thought he had fought in jeſt, for he was bruis'd and wounded in ſeveral Places. As ſoon as he came back, the Citizens aſked him, what News? He told them what

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what a brave Soldier *Caled* was, and extolled the Valour and Hardineſs of the Saracens, and deſired them to be ruled and adviſed in time, before it was too late; concluding that it would be altogether in vain to make any Oppoſition. But this enraged the Beſieged, and they aſked him, if he could not be content to be a Coward himſelf, but he muſt needs make them ſo too? They would certainly have killed him, if it had not been for fear of the Emperor. However they confined him to his Houſe, and charged him at his Peril not to meddle nor interpoſe in their Affairs, and told him, that if he would not fight, they would. *Romanus*, upon this, went home diveſted of all Power and Authority, but he ſtill comforted himſelf with the Hopes of being ſecured and exempted from the common Calamity, if the Saracens ſhould take the Town, as he expected they would. The Beſieged having deprived him, ſubſtituted in his Room the General of thoſe Forces, which the Emperor had ſent to their Aſſiſtance, and deſired him to challenge *Caled*, which he did; and when *Caled* was preparing himſelf to go, *Abdo'rrahamân*, the Caliph's Son, a very young Man, but of extraordinary Hopes, begged of him to let him anſwer the Challenge. Having obtained Leave, he mounted his Horſe, and took his Lance, which

which he handled with admirable Dexterity, and when he came near the Governour, he ſaid, *Come, thou Chriſtian Dog, come on.* Then the Combat began; and after a while, the Governour finding himſelf worſted, having a better Horſe than the Saracen, ran away, and made his Eſcape to the Army. *Abdo'rrahmân*, heartily vexed that his Enemy had eſcaped, fell upon the reſt, ſometimes charging upon the Right Hand, ſometimes upon the Left, making way where he went. *Caled* and the reſt of the Officers followed him, and the Battle grew hot between the Saracens and the miſerable Inhabitants of *Boſtra*, who were at their laſt Struggle for their Fortunes, their Liberty, their Religion, and whatſoever was dear to them, and had now ſeen the laſt Day dawn, in which they were ever to call any thing their own, without renouncing their Baptiſm. The Saracens fought like Lions, and *Caled* their General ſtill cry'd out, *Alhámlah, Alhámlah, Aljánnah, Aljánnah*; that is, *Fight, Fight, Paradiſe, Paradiſe.* The Town was all in an Uproar, the Bells rung, and the Prieſts and Monks ran about the Streets, making Exclamations, and calling upon God, but all too late; for his afflicting Providence had determin'd to deliver them into the Hands of their Enemies. *Caled* and *Serjabil* (for the Saracens could pray as well

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as fight, and *England* as well as *Arabia* has had ſome that could do ſo too) ſaid, *O God! theſe vile Wretches pray with idolatrous Expreſſions, and take to themſelves another God beſides thee; but we acknowledge thy Unity, and affirm, that there is no other God but thee alone; help us, we beſeech thee, for the Sake of thy Prophet* Mahomet, *againſt theſe Idolaters.* The Battle continued for ſome time; at laſt the poor Chriſtians were forced to give way, and leave the Field to the victorious Saracens, who loſt only 230 Men. The Beſieged retired as faſt as they could, and ſhut up the Gates, and ſet up their Banners and Standards, with the Sign of the Croſs upon the Walls, intending to write ſpeedily to the Grecian Emperor for more Aſſiſtance.

And now we muſt leave the poor Inhabitants of *Boſtra* in their melancholy Circumſtances, and come to the depoſed Governour *Romanus*, who was extreamly well ſatisfyed with the Succeſs of the *Saracens*, and was now going to act a Maſter-piece of Villany. The *Saracens* kept Watch in their Camp all Night; and as they went their Rounds, they ſaw a Man come out from the City, with a Camlet-Coat on, wrought with Gold. *Abdo'rrahmán*, who happened to be that Night upon the Watch, was the firſt that met him, and ſet his Lance to his Breaſt. *Hold*, ſaid he, *I am* Romanus, *the Governour*

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vernour of Boſtra; *bring me before* Caled *the General.* Upon this *Abdo'rrhamân* went with him to the General's Tent. As ſoon as *Caled* ſaw him he knew him, and aſked him, how he did? *Sir*, ſaid he, *my People have been diſobedient, and mutiny'd, and depoſed me, and confined me to my Houſe, and threatned me with Death if I intermeddled with any of their Affairs. Wherefore, that I may chaſtiſe them according to their Deſerts, I have order'd my Sons and Servants to dig a Hole in the Wall* (for his Houſe ſtood upon the Wall of the Town) *and if you pleaſe to ſend ſuch Perſons as you can truſt, I will take care to deliver the Town into your Hands.* Upon this *Caled* immediately diſpatch'd *Abdo'rrahmân* with an Hundred Men, and ordered him, ſo ſoon as he had taken Poſſeſſion, to fall upon the Chriſtians, and open the Gates. *Romanus* conducted them to the Wall, and took them into his Houſe; and after he had given them a Treat, he brought every one of them a Suit of ſuch Cloaths as the Chriſtian Soldiers us'd to wear, and diſguiſed them. Then *Abdo'rrahmân* divided them into four Parts, five and twenty in a Company, and ordered them to go into different Streets of the City, and commanded them, that as ſoon as they heard him, and thoſe that were with him, cry

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out, [2] *Alláh Acbar*, they ſhould do ſo too. Then *Abdo'rrahmân* aſked *Romanus*, where the Governour was which fought with him, and ran away from him? *Romanus* profered his Service to ſhow him, and away they marched together to the Caſtle, attended with five and twenty Muſlemans. When they came there, the Governour aſked *Romanus*, what he came for? Who anſwered, that he had no Buſineſs of his own, but only came to wait upon a Friend of his, that had a great deſire to ſee him. *Friend of mine!* ſays the Governour; *What Friend? Only your Friend* Abdo'rrahmân, ſaid *Romanus*, *is come to ſend you to Hell.* The unhappy Governour finding himſelf betray'd, endeavoured to make his Eſcape, *Nay, hold*, ſays *Abdo'rrahmân, tho' you ran away from me once in the Day-time, you muſt not ſerve me ſo again*; and ſtruck him with his Sword, and killed him. As he fell, *Abdo'rrahmân* cryed out *Alláh Acbar*. The Saracens which were below hearing it, did ſo too; ſo did thoſe which were diſperſed about the Streets, that there was nothing but *Alláh Acbar* heard round about the City. Then thoſe Saracens which were diſguiſed killed the Guards, opened the Gates, and let in *Caled* with his whole Army. The Town being now entirely loſt, the conquering *Saracens* fell

[2] God is moſt mighty.

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upon the Inhabitants, and killed and made Priſoners all they met with; till at laſt the chief Men of the City came out of their Houſes and Churches, and cryed *Quarter, Quarter.* The General, *Caled*, immediately commanded them to kill no more; for, ſaid he, the Apoſtle of God uſed to ſay, *If any one be killed after he has cried out, Quarter, 'tis none of my Fault.* Abubeker Alwákidi.

Thus was the Condition of *Boſtra* altered on a ſudden, and they which had been before a wealthy and flouriſhing People, were now brought under the Saracenical Yoak, and could enjoy their Chriſtian Profeſſion upon no other Terms than paying Tribute. Some of the Inhabitants aſked *Caled* the next morning, who it was that betrayed the City to him. To which he making no Anſwer, as being unwilling to expoſe the Perſon that had done him ſuch ſignal Service; *Romanus*, the Traytor, with moſt unparallelled Impudence, ſtarted up himſelf, and ſaid, *O you Enemies of God, and Enemies of his Apoſtle, I did it, deſiring to pleaſe God.* To whom they anſwered, *Are not you one of us? No*, ſaid he, *I have nothing to do with you, either in this World or that which is to come. And I deny him that was crucified, and whoſoever worſhips him. And I chuſe God for my Lord, Mahometaniſm for my Religion, the Temple of*

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Meccah *for the* [3] *Place of my Worſhip, the Muſlemans for my Brethren, and* Mahomet *for my Prophet and Apoſtle. And I witneſs that there is but one God, and that he has no Partner, and that* Mahomet *is his Servant and Apoſtle, whom he ſent with Direction into the right Way and the true Religion, that he might exalt it above every Religion, in ſpite of thoſe who join Partners with God.* After he had given ſuch an ample Teſtimony, and made ſo full a Confeſſion of his Faith, *Caled* appointed ſome Men to take Care of his Effects, for he durſt not venture himſelf any longer in *Boſtra*, after having been guilty of ſuch unexampled Villany.

Then *Caled* wrote to *Abu Obeidah*, to acquaint him with his Succeſs, and withal to command him, to bring thoſe Forces which he had with him, that they might all march together to the Siege of *Damaſcus*. Then he put a Garriſon of four hundred Horſe into *Boſtra*, and ſent *Abubeker* the News of his Victory, and his Intention to beſiege *Damaſcus*.

[3] Arab. *Keblah*, which ſignifies the Place towards which they turn themſelves when they ſay their Prayers. For as the *Jews*, though in Captivity, uſed to turn their Faces towards the Temple of *Jeruſalem* when they pray'd; ſo do the *Mahometans* towards the Temple at *Meccah*. And there are Books in *Arabick* (one of which I have ſeen in the *Bodleian* Library) teaching how to find out the *Zenith*, or Vertical Point of the *Keblah*, or Temple of *Meccah*, Mathematically; That let a Muſleman be where he will, he may know which way to ſet his Face when he ſays his Prayers.

There

There were at that time ſeven thouſand *Saracens* with *Amrou Ebnòl Aâs* in *Paleſtine*; and with *Abu Obeidah* thirty-ſeven thouſand, which had been raiſed at ſeveral times out of *Hejaz*, *Yemen*, *Hadramut*, the Sea-Coaſts of *Ammàn*, and the Territories of *Meccah* and *Thayef*. *Caled* had with him only °fifteen hundred Horſe, which he brought with him out of *Irâk*. *Heraclius*, the Grecian Emperor, was now at *Antioch*, and being informed what Havock the Saracens had made in his Dominions, thought it time to look about him. He could not endure to think of loſing *Damaſcus*, but ſends a General, which our *Arabick* Author (not exact at all in the Names of the Chriſtians) calls *Calous*, and with him five thouſand Men, to defend it. *Calous* came firſt to *Hems* formerly called *Emeſſa*, being the chief City of the adjacent Territory which is called by the ſame Name. It lies between *Aleppo* and *Damaſcus*, diſtant five Days Journey from each of them; a Place of a moſt healthful and pleaſant Air, compaſſed about with beautiful Gardens and fruitful Orchards, which are plentifully watered by a Rivulet drawn from the River *Orontes*, called by the *Arabian* Geographers, *Alâſi*, which paſſes by the City at the Diſtance of about half a Mile. When he came there, he found the Place very well provided both with

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Soldiers, Arms, and Ammunition. For the Conqueſts of the Saracens had ſtruck ſuch a Terror into all the Country, that every Place had fortify'd itſelf as well as poſſible. He ſtayed a Day and a Night at *Hems*, and paſſed from thence to *Baalbec*. He no ſooner came near that Place, but there came out to meet him a mixed Multitude of Men and Women, with their Hair about their Ears, weeping and wringing their Hands, and making moſt pitiful Lamentation. *Calous* aſked them what was the Matter. Matter? ſaid they, Why, the *Arabs* have over-run all the Country, and taken *Aracah*, and *Sachnah* and *Tadmor*, and *Hawràn*, and *Boſtra*, and are now ſet down before *Damaſcus*. He asked them, what was their General's Name, and how many Men he had? They told him that his Name was *Caled*, and that he had but fifteen hundred Horſe. *Calous* deſpiſed ſo inconſiderable a Number of Men, and bad the People be of good Chear, and ſwore, that when he came back again he would bring *Caled*'s Head along with him upon the Point of his Spear.

As ſoon as he came to *Damaſcus*, he produced the Emperor's Letter, and told the People, that he expected to have the whole Command of the Town himſelf: and would have had *Iſraîl*, the former Governour, ſent out of Town: But the *Damaſcens* did by no means approve of

of that, for they lik'd their old Governour very well, and would not hear of parting with him in ſuch a time of Extremity, when they had as great Occaſion for Men of Courage, as ever they had ſince they were a People. Upon this they were divided into Factions and Parties, and continu'd wrangling and quarrelling one with another, at that very time when there was the greateſt need of Unity and a right Underſtanding; for now the *Saracens* were expected every Moment. It was not long before they came; the Chriſtians went forth to meet them, and both Armies were drawn up in order of Battle. Abubeker Alwâkidi.

When both were ready to fight, *Caled* called out to *Derar Ebn'ol Azwar*, and ſaid, *Now* Derar *quit thyſelf like a Man, and follow the Steps of thy Father, and others of thy Countrymen, who have fought for the Cauſe of God. Help forward Religion, and God will help thee.* *Derar* was mounted upon a fine Mare, and *Caled* had no ſooner ſpoken, but he immediately charged the Horſe, and killed four Troopers, and then wheeled off, and fell upon the Foot, and killed ſix of them, and never left charging them till he had broken their Ranks, and put them into Diſorder. At laſt they threw Stones at him, and preſſed upon him ſo hard, that he was forced to retire among his own Men, where he received due Thanks. Then *Caled* called

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called out to *Abdo'rrahmàn*, the Caliph's Son, whom we have mentioned before, who did the like. *Caled* himſelf inſulted the Chriſtians, and gave them reproachful Language, and challenged any of them to fight with him. *Izraïl* upon this called to *Calous*, and told him, that it would be very proper for him, who was the Protector of his Country, and whom the Emperor had ſent on purpoſe to fight, to anſwer the Challenge: However *Calous* would rather have ſtaid behind, if he had not been in a manner compelled to go by the Importunity of the People. At laſt, with much ado, he arms himſelf, and goes forwards; and becauſe he had a mind to diſcourſe with his Adverſary, he takes an Interpreter along with him. As they went on together, *Calous* began to ſhake in his Harneſs for Fear of the *Saracen*, and would fain have perſwaded the Interpreter, with large Promiſes, to have taken his Part, if the *Saracen* ſhould fall upon him. The Interpreter begged his Pardon, and told him, that as far as Words would go, he was at his Service, but he did not care for blows; and *therefore*, ſays he, *look to your ſelf, Sir; for my part I will not be concerned: For if I ſhould meddle, and be knocked on the Head for my pains, I pray what Good would all your fair Promiſes do me?* When they came to *Caled*, the Interpreter

preter began after this manner; *Sir*, ſaid he, *I'll tell you a Story: There was a Man had a Flock of Sheep, and he put them to a negligent Shepherd, and the wild Beaſts devoured them. Which when the Owner perceived, he turn'd away the Shepherd, and got another, that was a Man of Application and Courage; then when the wild Beaſt came again, the Shepherd kill'd him. Have a care that this does not prove to be your Caſe: You* Arabians *were a contemptible, vile People, and went about with hungry Bellies, naked and barefoot, and liv'd upon Barly-bread, and what you could ſqueeze out of Dates. Now ſince you are come into our Country, and have fared better, you begin to rebel. But now the Emperor has taken Care to ſend a Man that is a Soldier indeed, and therefore it concerns you to look to your ſelves. And he has brought me along with him to talk with you, out of Compaſſion towards you. Prithee,* ſays *Caled, don't tell me thy Stories; as for what thou ſay'ſt of our Country, 'tis true enough. But you ſhall find that times are well amended with us, and that inſtead of our Barley-Bread and courſe Fare, you twit us withal, we ſhall be Maſters of all your Wealth and good things, nay your Perſons, and Wives, and Children too. And as for this ſame great Man thou ſpeakeſt of; what doſt tell me of a great Man for, who have taken* Abubeker Alwâkidi

Tadmor,

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Tadmor, Hawràn *and* Boſtra? *Let him be as great as he will; if he be the Support of your Kingdom, ſo am I of our Religion.* *Calous* did not like the Mien and Behaviour of his Adverſary at all, and bad the Interpreter aſk him to defer the Combat till the next Day; intending, if he had once made his Eſcape, never to have come ſo near him any more. But the Saracen did not deſign to part with him ſo, but ſaid, that he would not be fool'd, and immediately got between him and the Chriſtian Army, to prevent his running away, and began to lay about him with his Spear moſt vehemently. They both fought bravely for a while; in the mean time the Interpreter perceiving them engaged, mov'd off, and eſcaped to the Chriſtian Camp. At laſt *Calous* grew weary, and began to ſtand altogether upon the defenſive part. The Saracen perceiving that he ſtood upon his Guard, left off puſhing him, and came up cloſe to him, and dextrouſly ſhifting his Spear from his Right Hand to his Left, laid hold on him, and drew him to him, and flung him from his Saddle to the Gronnd. The Saracens immediately ſhouted out, *Allah Acbar*, which made the whole Camp echo, and the poor Chriſtians tremble. *Caled* took Care of his Priſoner, and changed his Horſe, and took a freſh one, which the Governour of *Tadmor* had preſented him

him with, and went into the Field again. *Derar* deſired him to ſtay behind, *for*, ſays he, *you have tired your ſelf with fighting with this Dog, therefore reſt your ſelf a little, and let me go.* To which *Caled* anſwered, *O* Derar, *we ſhall reſt in the World to come; he that labours to-day, ſhall reſt to-morrow*, and rode forwards. He was but juſt gone, when *Romanus*, the treacherous Governour of *Boſtra*, called him back, and told him, that *Calous* would ſpeak with him; who, even in thoſe calamitous Circumſtances, had not laid aſide his reſentment. When he came back, *Calous* gave him ſome Account of the Difference which had been between him and *Izraîl* the Governour of *Damaſcus*, and told him, that if he ſhould overcome him, it would be of great Moment, in order to the taking the City; he advis'd him therefore to challenge him, and get him out to ſingle Combat, and kill him if he could. *Caled* told him, that he might be ſure he would not ſpare any Infidel or Idolater. Abubeker Alwâkidi

Calous being now a Priſoner, his five thouſand Men, which he had brought to the Relief of *Damaſcus*, were very urgent with *Izraîl* to go out, and anſwer *Caled*'s Challenge; which he declined at firſt: But afterwards, when they threaten'd him with Death, if he perſiſted in his Refuſal, he told them, that the Reaſon why he

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he refuſed at firſt, was not becauſe he was afraid, but becauſe he had a Mind to let their Maſter *Calous* try his Valour firſt. Then he armed himſelf, and mounted upon a good Horſe, rode up to the Saracen; who, amongſt other Diſcourſe, aſked him his Name? He anſwered, *My Name is* Izraîl, (which is the Name of the Angel, whom the Mahometans ſuppoſe to take care of the Souls of Perſons deceaſed.) *Caled* laugh'd, and ſaid, *Well, your Names-Sake* Izraîl *is juſt ready at your Service, to convey your Soul to Hell. Izraîl* aſked him what he had done with his Priſoner *Calous?* He told him, that he had him bound. *Why did you not kill him?* ſaid *Izraîl. Becauſe*, ſaid the Saracen, *I intend to kill you both together.* Then the Combat began, and was managed on both Sides with great Dexterity and Vigor. *Izraîl* behaved himſelf ſo well, that *Caled* admired him. At laſt the Victory inclined to *Caled*; and *Izraîl* finding himſelf over-match'd, and having the better Horſe of the two, turn'd his Back, and rode away. *Caled* purſued him as faſt as he could, but could not overtake him. When *Izraîl* perceived that his Adverſary did not come up, imagining that this Slackneſs of his proceeded from an Unwillingneſs to fight, he reſum'd his Courage, and faced about, in hopes to have taken him Priſoner; which

Caled

Caled perceiving, alighted from his Horſe, and choſe rather to fight on Foot; and as *Izraîl* ruſhed upon him, he ſtruck at the Legs of his Horſe, and brought him down to the Ground, and took him Priſoner. Having now in his Poſſeſſion both the General and the Governour, he aſked them, if they were willing to renounce their Chriſtianity, and turn Mahometans? Which they both conſtantly refuſing, were inſtantly beheaded. *Caled* having ordered the Heads to be brought to him, took them, and threw them over the Walls into the Town. Abubeke Alwâkic

There were ſeveral Battles fought before *Damaſcus*, in which the Chriſtians for the moſt part were beaten. At laſt, when they ſaw that by ſallying out they had many Men killed and taken Priſoners, they determined to ſave the Remainder for the Defence of the Walls, and expoſe themſelves no more to the Hazard of a Field-Fight. Thus they ſhut up themſelves within the Town, and *Caled* pitched his Tents over againſt the Eaſt Gate, and *Abu-Obeidah* ſet down before the Gate which they call *Al-jábiyah*. The City being thus ſtreightly beſieged, and the Inhabitants not daring to depend altogether upon thoſe Forces which they had at preſent, they reſolved to diſpatch a Meſſenger ſpeedily to the Grecian Emperor *Heraclius*, then at *Antioch*: So they wrote a Letter to him,

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Our Author tells us, that *Werdàn* refuſed to accept of this Commiſſion at firſt, as thinking himſelf ſlighted, becauſe the Emperor had not employed him at the Beginning of the War. But I never give much Credit to Authors that ſpeak of things done in foreign Courts, and out of their Knowledge, however worthy of Credit they may be, when they write of things done by their own Countrymen, and give an Account of ſuch Tranſactions, as they may reaſonably be ſuppoſed to have ſufficient Opportunities of informing themſelves about. For this reaſon I would as little heed an *Arabick* Author, writing about the Affairs of the Chriſtians, as I would a *Greek* or *Latin* one,

giving

giving an Account of the *Arabians*; becauſe, in this Caſe, both muſt needs take a great deal upon Truſt, by hearſay, and uncertain Reports, and conſequently be impoſed on themſelves, and deceive their Readers. Wherefore I have rather choſen to take this Hiſtory out of their own Authors, than depend upon the Chriſtian Writers, who were very little acquainted with the Affairs of the Saracens. Abubeker. Alwâkidi.

Werdân, however, undertook the Command of that Army; and after the Emperor and ſome of the Nobility had gone part of the Way with him, and taken their Leave, he marched with all poſſible Speed towards *Damaſcus*; the Emperor having given him particular Charge, to take Care to cut off all Supplies from the Saracen Army, which was with *Caled* and *Abu Obeidah*.

Within a ſhort time after, the Saracens heard that the Emperor's Army was upon their March, near *Ajnadîn*. *Caled* immediately goes to *Abu Obeidah*, to adviſe with him what was proper to be done in this Caſe. *Caled* was for having the Siege raiſed, and the Saracens go in a full Body againſt the Grecian Army; and then, if they got the Victory, return to the Siege again: But *Abu Obeidah*, told him, that he was by no means of that Opinion, becauſe the Inhabitants of *Damaſcus* were already in a

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very great Streight, and their going away would only give them an Opportunity of getting freſh Supplies, both of Arms and Proviſion, into the Town, and enable them to prolong the Siege: With which Anſwer the General was very well ſatisfied.

Werdàn's Army was very ſlow upon their March, and the poor beſieged Chriſtians were now in great Diſtreſs. Finding no Aſſiſtance from the Emperor, they propoſed Terms to the General, and would have given him a thouſand Ounces of Gold, and two hundred Suits of Silk, upon Condition that he would raiſe the Siege. To which he anſwered, that he would not raiſe the Siege, unleſs they would either become Tributaries or Mahometans: If neither of theſe Conditions pleaſed them, they muſt be content to fight it out. About ſix Weeks after this, the Saracens heard an unuſual Noiſe in the City, great Exclamations and Expreſſions of Joy. They could not imagine what ſhould be the Meaning of it, but in a very ſhort time they were ſatisfied, for their Scouts brought them Word, that the Emperor's Army was at hand. *Caled* again would very willingly have gone to meet them; but *Abu Obeidah* would by no Means conſent that the Siege ſhould be raiſed. At laſt they agreed to chooſe ſome very good Soldier, and ſend him with part of their Forces,

to give the Emperor's Army Diverſion, that they might not come and diſturb the Siege. The Man that *Caled* pitched upon to have the Management of this Expedition, was *Derar Ebn'ol Azwar*, an excellent Soldier, and moſt mortal Enemy of the Chriſtians, (as indeed all of them were, *Abu Obeidah* only excepted) who accepted of this Poſt very cheerfully, and cared not how many or how few Men he had with him, provided he might be employed in ſome glorious Action againſt the Chriſtians. But *Caled* told him, that though they were obliged to fight for their Religion, yet God had commanded no Man to throw himſelf away, and therefore bad him be content to accept of ſuch Aſſiſtance as he ſhould think fit to ſend along with him; and ordered him, in caſe of great Danger, to retire to the Army. *Derar* immediately prepared to go; and as they were upon their March, the Emperor's vaſt Army drew near. When the Saracens ſaw ſuch a Multitude, they were afraid, and would willingly have retired; but *Derar* ſwore, *That he would not ſtir a Step back without fighting.* And *Raphi Ebn Omeirah* told them, *That it was a common thing for the Muſlemans to rout a great Army with an Handful of Men.* The Armies drew near, and notwithſtanding the vaſt Diſproportion of their Numbers, *Derar* advanced, without ſhowing

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the leaſt Token of Fear or Concern; and when he came up, he always fought moſt where *Werdàn* the General was. And firſt of all he killed his Right-hand Man, and then the Standard-bearer. The Standard had in it the ſign of the Croſs, and was richly adorned with precious Stones. As ſoon as *Derar* ſaw it fall, he commanded his *Saracens* to alight, and take it up, whilſt he defended them. Immediately they obeyed, and he in the mean time laid about him ſo furiouſly, that none durſt come within his reach to ſave the Standard. *Werdàn*, the Emperor's General, had a Son that was his Father's Lieutenant in *Hems*, who marched with ten thouſand Men when he heard that his Father was going againſt the Muſlemans; and had the Fortune to join him whilſt the Armies were engaged. He obſerving *Derar*'s Activity, and what Execution he did amongſt the Greeks, watched his Opportunity, and wounded him in the left Arm with a Javelin. *Derar* turned himſelf about, and ſtruck him with his Lance ſo violently, that when he drew it back again, he left the Point of it ſticking in the Bones. Notwithſtanding which he made as vigorous a Defence as could be expected from a Man diſarmed; but the *Greeks* preſſed hard upon him, and with much ado took him Priſoner. When the *Saracens* ſaw their Captain taken Priſoner, they

fought as long as they could, in hopes of recovering him, but all in vain: Which diſcouraged them ſo much, that they had like to have run away. Which *Raphi Ebn Omeirah* perceiving, called out to them with a loud Voice, and ſaid, *What! don't you know, that whoſoever turns his Back upon his Enemies, offends God and his Prophet? And that the Prophet ſaid, that the Gates of Paradiſe ſhould be open to none but ſuch as fought for Religion? Come on! I'll go before you. If your Captain be dead or taken Priſoner, yet your God is alive, and ſees what you do.* With theſe Words he reſtored the Battle. In the mean time News came to *Caled*, that *Derar* was taken. Upon which he immediately applies himſelf to *Abu Obeidah*, to know what was beſt to be done. *Abu Obeidah* ſent him word, that he ſhould leave ſome body in his Place, and go himſelf to reſcue *Derar*. Upon this he leaves *Meiſarah Ebn Meſrouk* in his Place, with a thouſand Horſe, and taking a conſiderable Force along with him, went with all poſſible ſpeed to relieve the *Saracens*. When thoſe that were engaged ſaw the Recruit come up, they fell on like Lions; and *Caled* charged in the thickeſt part of them, where there were moſt Banners and Standards, in hopes of finding *Derar* Priſoner there, but all in vain. At laſt there revolted a Party of them that came

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with *Werdan*'s Son from *Hems*, and begged of *Caled* Protection and Security for themſelves and their Families. *Caled* told them, *That he would conſider that when he came to* Hems, *and not in this Place.* Then he aſked them, if they knew what was become of *Derar?* They told him, that as ſoon as he was taken Priſoner, *Werdàn*, the General, had ſent him with a Guard of an Hundred Horſe Priſoner to *Hems*, in order to make a Preſent of him to *Heraclius* the Emperor. *Caled* was glad to hear it, and immediately diſpatched *Raphi Ebn Omeirah* with an hundred Horſe, to retake *Derar.* They made all poſſible haſt, and took the direct Road to *Hems*; at laſt they overtook them, and killed and routed them, and recovered their Friend *Derar*, and haſtened back to join *Caled*, who by this time had entirely defeated the Grecian Army. They purſued them as far as *Wadi'l Hâyat*, and brought off what Plunder, and Horſes, and Arms they could, and returned to the Siege of *Damaſcus*, which had now but little Hopes of holding out long.

The Emperor *Heraclius* not willing to part with *Syria* thus, ſent to *Werdàn* again, and gave him the Command of ſeventy thouſand Men at *Ajnadîn*; and commanded him to go and give the *Saracens* Battle, and raiſe, if poſſible, the Siege of *Damaſcus.* When the News of this Pre-

Preparation came to *Caled*'s Ears, he went to *Abu Obeidah*, to conſult what was proper to be done. He told him, that he knew that moſt of their [1] great Men were abſent; and that it would be his beſt way to ſend for them as ſoon as he could, that having joined their Forces, they might in a full Body give the Emperor's Army Battle. *Yezid Ebn Abi Sophyan* was then in *Balka*, a Territory upon the Confines of *Syria*; *Serjabil Ebn Haſanah* in *Paleſtine*; *Meâd* in *Harrân*; *Nomân Ebno'l Mundir* at *Tadmor*; and *Amrou Ebno'l Aâs* in *Irâk*. Upon this *Caled* wrote the following Letter. Abubeker. Alwákidi.

In the Name of the moſt merciful God.

From Caled Ebno'l Waled *to* Amrou Ebno'l Aâs, *Health and Happineſs. Know that thy Brethren the Muſlemans deſign to march to* Ajnadîn, *where there is an Army conſiſting of ſeventy thouſand* Greeks, *who purpoſe to come againſt us,* [2] that they may extinguiſh the Light of God with their Mouths; but God preſerveth his Light in ſpite of the Infidels. *As ſoon therefore as this Letter of mine ſhall come to thy Hands, come with thoſe that are with thee to* Ajnadîn,

[1] Arab. *Kobarao Aſhhab Reſoûl Allah*, i. e The great Men of the Companions of the Apoſtle of God. [2] Theſe Words are a Text of the *Alcoran*. See *Alcoran*, Chap. IX. and LXI. 8.

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The like he ſent to the reſt of the Generals, and immediately gave Orders for the whole Army to march with Bag and Baggage. *Caled* himſelf went in the Front, and *Abu Obeidah* brought up the Rear. The *Damaſcens* perceiving the Siege raiſed, and their Enemies upon their March, took Courage, and ventured out upon them with an Army of ſix thouſand Horſe, and ten thouſand Foot; the Horſe under the Command of *Paul*; the Foot, of *Peter*. As ſoon as *Paul* came up, he fell upon *Abu Obeidah*, and kept him employ'd whilſt *Peter* went to ſeize the Spoil; for all their Baggage, and Wealth, and Women, and Children were in the Rear. *Peter* brought off a good part of it, and ſome of the Women; and taking a Guard both of Horſe and Foot, returned towards *Damaſcus*, leaving his Brother *Paul* with the reſt of the Army to engage the Muſſemans. *Paul* behaved himſelf ſo well, that he beat *Abu Obeidah*, and thoſe that were in the Rear, who now wiſhed at his Heart that he had taken *Caled*'s Advice, when he would have perſwaded him at firſt to have marched in the Front, and would have brought up the Rear himſelf. The Women and Children made grievous Lamentation, and all Things went ill on that ſide.

Upon

Upon this *Saïd Ebn Sabàhh*, being well mounted, rode as hard as he could to the Front of the Army, where *Caled* was, and gave him an Account how Matters went; and deſired him with all poſſible ſpeed to ſuccour *Abu Obeidah*. *Well*, ſaid *Caled*, *God's will be done*; *I would have been in the Rear at firſt, but he would not let me*; *and now you ſee what is come on it.* Immediately he diſpatches *Raphi* with two thouſand Horſe, to relieve the Saracens in the Rear, and after him *Kais Ebn Hobeirah* with two thouſand more; then *Abdo'rrahmân* with two thouſand more; then *Derar Ebno'l Azwàr* with two thouſand more; the reſt of the Army he brought up himſelf. When *Raphi*, *Derar*, and *Abdo'rrahmân* came up, the State of the Matter was quite altered; and the Chriſtians which had the better of it before, were beaten down on every ſide, and their Standards and Colours turned upſide down. *Derar* purſued *Paul* the General, who durſt not encounter him; for he had ſeen how he behaved himſelf at the Siege of *Damaſcus*, and heard how he had fought againſt *Werdán*. *Derar* turned himſelf about, and ſaid to *Abu Obeidah*, *Did not I tell you that this* [3] *Devil would not ſtand me?* and followed up cloſely. *Paul* being purſued hard, flung

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[3] Arab. *Shaithân*, which is the ſame with the Hebrew *Satan*.

himſelf

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himſelf off from his Horſe, and endeavoured to get away on Foot. *Derar* alighted too, and had juſt overtaken him, and was a going to chine him; but he cryed out, *Hold! for in ſaving me, you ſave your Wives and Children which we have taken.* *Derar* upon this forbore, and took him Priſoner. The Chriſtians were all routed; ſo that of thoſe ſix thouſand Horſe which came out of *Damaſcus*, there eſcaped only one Hundred; as they were afterwards informed when the City was taken.

Among thoſe other Captives which *Peter* had taken, it fortuned that *Caulah*, *Derar*'s Siſter, a brave Vigaro, and a very beautiful Woman, was one. *Derar* was extreamly concerned for the Loſs of his Siſter, and made his Complaint to *Caled:* Who bad him be of good cheer; *for*, ſays he, *we have taken their General, and ſome other Priſoners, which we ſhall exchange for our own; and there is no queſtion but we ſhall find them all at* Damaſcus. However, they reſolved to go and ſee if they could recover them before they got thither. *Caled*, *Raphi*, *Meiſarah*, and *Derar*, went in ſearch of the Captives; and ordered *Abu Obeidah* to march on ſlowly with the Army. There were among the Women which were taken Priſoners, ſome of the *Hamyarites* (a Tribe ſo called amongſt the *Arabs*) which the *Arabians* ſuppoſe to be de-

deſcended from the ancient *Amalekites*. Theſe Women are uſed to ride on Horſeback, and fight as the *Amazons* did of old. *Peter*, when he had got his Priſoners and Plunder at ſome convenient Diſtance, did not make haſte to convey them to *Damaſcus*, but ſtayed by the way, being deſirous, if poſſible, to hear of his Brother *Paul*'s Succeſs before he went home. Whilſt they reſted, they took an Account of the Women, and what elſe they had gotten; and *Peter* choſe *Caulah*, *Derar*'s Siſter, for himſelf, and told his Men, that ſhe, and no other ſhould be his, and nobody's elſe. The reſt choſe each of them one as long as they laſted. The Greeks went into their Tents to refreſh themſelves, and in the mean time the Women got altogether, and *Caulah* ſaid to them: *What! will you ſuffer your ſelves to be abuſed by theſe Barbarians, and become Hand-maids and Slaves to theſe Idolaters? Where's your Courage? For my part, I'll ſooner die than any of theſe idolatrous Slaves ſhall touch me.* *Opheirah*, who was one of them, told her, that their Patience was not the Effect of Cowardice, but Neceſſity. *For*, ſays ſhe, *we are defenceleſs; we have neither Sword nor Spear, nor Bow, nor any thing elſe. But cannot we*, ſays *Caulah, take each of us a Tent-pole, and ſtand upon our Guard? Who knows but that it may pleaſe God to give us the Victory, or deliver us by* Abubeker. Alwákidi.

ſome

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ſome means or other? If not, we ſhall die, and be at reſt, and preſerve the Honour of our Country. *Opheirah* ſwore ſhe was much in the right of it. They inſtantly reſolved upon it, and provided themſelves with Staves, and *Caulah* commanded in chief. *Come*, ſays ſhe, *ſtand round in a Circle, and be ſure you leave no Space between you for any of them to come in and do us a Miſchief. Strike their Spears with your Staves, and break their Swords and their Sculls.* As ſhe ſpoke, ſhe ſtepped forwards one Step, and ſtruck a Fellow that ſtood within her Reach, and ſhattered his Scull. Immediately there was a great Uproar, and the *Greeks* came running out of their Tents to ſee what was the Matter. When they came out, there ſtood the Women all up in Arms. *Peter* called out to *Caulah*, whom he had choſen for his Miſtreſs, *What's the Meaning of this, my Dear? Woe be to thee*, ſaid ſhe, *and to all of you, thou* [3] *Chriſtian Dog. The meaning of it is, that we deſign to preſerve our Honour, and to beat your Brains out with theſe Staves: Come, why don't you come to your Sweet-heart now, for which you reſerved your ſelf? It may be you may receive ſomething at her Hands, which may prove worth your while.* *Peter* only laughed at her, and ordered his Men to compaſs them round, and not do them any Harm, but only

[3] Arab. *Ya kelbo'nnaſraniyah.*

take

take them Priſoners, and gave them an eſpecial Charge to be careful of his Miſtreſs. They endeavoured to obey his Commands, but with very ill Succeſs; for when any Horſeman came near the Women, they let drive at the Horſes Legs, and if they brought him down, his Rider was ſure to riſe no more. When *Peter* perceived that they were in earneſt, he grew very angry, and alighted from his Horſe, and bid his Men do ſo too, and fall upon them with their Cymiters. The Women ſtood cloſe together, and ſaid one to another, *Come; let us die honourably, rather than live ſcandalouſly. Peter* looked with a great deal of Concern upon his Miſtreſs, and when he viewed her Beauty and comely Proportion and Stature, loath to part with her, he came near, and gave her good Words, and would fain have perſwaded her to deſiſt from her Enterprize, He told her, that he was rich and honourable, that he had a great many fine Seats, and the like, which ſhould all be at her Service; and deſired her to take Pity of herſelf, and not to be acceſſary to her own Death. To which ſhe anſwered, *Thou Infidel, Scoundrel, vile Raſcal, why doſt not come a little nearer, that I may beat thy Brains out?* This nettled him to purpoſe; ſo he drew his Sword, and bid his Men fall upon them; and told them, that it would be a very ſcandalous thing to them in all

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the Neighbourhood of *Syria* and *Arábia*, if they ſhould be beaten by the Women. The Women were juſt now at their laſt Prayers, but they held up bravely; and it happened fortunately, that whilſt they were thus engaged, *Caled* and his Party came up. They wondered what was the Matter when they ſaw the Duſt fly, and the Swords glitter. *Calid* ſent *Raphi* to enquire into the Buſineſs; who rode in great haſt, and came back quickly, and gave him an Account how things ſtood. *Caled* ſaid, he did not at all wonder at it, for the Women of thoſe Tribes were uſed to it. As ſoon as *Derar* heard the News, he put forward his Horſe in all haſte to go and help the Women. *Softly*, Derar, *ſoftly*, ſaid *Caled*; *not ſo faſt: A man that goes leiſurely about his Buſineſs, ſhall ſooner gain his Point, than he that goes to work raſhly.* *Derar* anſwered, *I han't Patience, I muſt go and help my Siſter.* Then *Caled* ſet his Men in order, and commanded them, as ſoon as they came up, to encompaſs their Enemies. As ſoon as *Caulah* ſaw the Saracens appear, ſhe cried out, *Look ye, my Girls, God has ſent us Help now.* When the Greeks ſaw the Saracens draw near, they were in a pitiful Condition, and began to look upon one another very ſorrowfully. *Peter* was now willing to contrive ſome way for his own Safety, and called out to the Women, *Heark ye,*

ſaid

said he, *I pity your Condition, for we have Sisters and Mothers, and Wives of our own; therefore I let you go freely for Christ's Sake: Wherefore, when your People come up, let them know how civil I have been to you.* Having said thus, he turned towards the Saracens, and saw two Horsemen coming apace before the rest. One of them, (*Caled*) was compleatly armed, the other (*Derar*) naked, with a Lance in his Hand, upon a Horse without a Saddle. As soon as *Caulah* saw her Brother, she called out, *Come hither, Brother, though God is sufficient without thy Help.* Then *Peter* called out to her, and said, *Get thee to thy Brother, I give thee to him,* and turned away to get off as fast as he could. She called after him, and said, *This Fickleness of yours is not like the Manner of us* Arabians: *Sometimes you are wonderfully fond of me, and express a great deal of Love, and then again you are as cold and indifferent as may be. Away with thee,* says he, *I am not so fond of thee now as I was before. Well,* says she, *I am fond of you, and must have you by all Means.* Then she ran up to him, and *Caled* and *Derar* were just at hand. As soon as *Peter* saw *Derar*, he called out to him, and said, *There's your Sister, take her, and much good may she do you; I make a present of her to you. Derar* answered, *I thank you, Sir, I accept of your kind Present; but I have nothing*

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to

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to return you in lieu of it, but only the Point of this Spear, therefore be pleaſed to accept of it. At the ſame time, *Caulah* ſtruck the Legs of his Horſe, and brought him down. *Derar* took him as he fell, and ſtruck him through and through, and cut off his Head, and put it upon his Lance. Then all the Saracens fell on, and fought till they had killed three thou[illegible]d Men. The reſt ran away, and the Saracens purſued them to the Gates of *Damaſcus*, and returned enriched with Plunder, Horſes, and Armour. *Caled* now thought it high time to return to *Abu Obeidah*, fearing that *Werdàn* ſhould have fallen upon him: They marched forthwith, and as ſoon as the Army ſaw *Caled* and his Company, they ſhouted out an *Allàh Acbar*, and *Caled* anſwered them again. When they came up to the Army, they gave them a particular Account of their whole Adventure, eſpecially the Battle of the Women, with which they made themſelves very merry. Then *Caled* called for *Paul*, who was taken Priſoner before, and bid him turn Mahometan, or elſe he would ſerve him as he had done his Brother. *What's that?* ſaid *Paul. Why*, ſays *Caled*, *I have killed him, and here is his Head.* When he ſaw the Head [illegible], and ſaid, that he did not deſire to ſurvive him: Upon which *Caled* commanded him to be beheaded.

The

The above-mentioned Saracen Captains, which *Caled* wrote to, to meet him at *Ajnadîn*, prepared to come as ſoon as they had received the Letter: And that which was moſt remarkable, was, though they were at Places of a different Diſtance, yet they all happened to meet there the ſame Day, being *Friday* the 13th of *July*, in the Year 633, which they all interpreted as a ſingular Providence. The Armies came within Sight of one another, and the Saracens were ſomething at a ſtand, when they ſaw the Emperor's Army, conſiſting of no leſs than ſeventy Thouſand. Thoſe who had been in *Perſia*, and ſeen the vaſt Armies of *Coſroes*, confeſſed that they had never ſeen any thing beyond this, either in reſpect of their Number, or Military Preparation. They ſat down in ſight of one another that Night, and early the next Morning prepared for Battle. *Caled* rode about amongſt the Ranks of his Men, and told them, "That "they now ſaw the biggeſt Army of the "Greeks, that ever they were like to ſee; "That if they came off Conquerors, all was "their own, and nothing would be able to "ſtand againſt them for the time to come:" *Therefore*, adds he, *fight in good earneſt, and take Religion's Part: And* [1] *be ſure that you do not turn your Backs, and ſo be damned for your Pains,*

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[1] *Alcoran*, Chap. VIII. ℣. 15, 16.

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Stand close together, and don't make any Assault, till you hear the Word of Command; and see that you mind your Business, and have your Wits and your Hearts about you. Nor was *Werdàn*, on the other side, negligent in encouraging his Men to do their best. He called his Officers together, and said, *You know that the Emperor has a great Concern upon him for you, and if you should shrink now you come to face your Enemies, and lose the Field, 'twould be such a Blow, as could never more be recovered, and these* Arabs *will take Possession of all, and kill your Men, and make Slaves of your Wives and Children. All is now at Stake; therefore stand to it stoutly, and don't flinch, but fight unanimously and courageously: Besides we have three to their one for your Comfort, and call upon Christ, and he will help you.* *Caled* was very apprehensive of that great Army, and therefore was willing to go to work as warily as he could. He asked his Men, which of them would go and take a View of the Army, and bring him an Account of their Order and Number? *Derar*, who was never backward in any thing that belonged to a Soldier, proffered his Service. *Well then*, says *Caled*, *thou shalt go, and God go along with thee; but I charge thee*, Derar, *that thou do not assault them, nor strike a Stroke without my Order, and so be accessary to thy own Destruction.* Away he goes, and views their

their Order, their Arms and Standards, and Banners diſplayed, and Colours flying. *Werdàn* caſt his Eye upon him, and imagining him to be a Scout, ſent a Party of thirty Horſe to ſeize him, and bring him into the Army. When they advanced, *Derar* ran away, and they after him, till he had drawn them a good way from the Army, and then he faced about, and fell upon them like a Lion. Firſt he puſhed one through with his Lance, and then another; and terrify'd them, and beat them grievouſly, till of thirty he had unhorſed ſeventeen. The reſt fled before him, till they came pretty near the Grecian Camp, and then he turned off, and came back to *Caled*. *Did not I warn you not to fight without Order?* ſaid *Caled*. *Nay*, ſaid *Derar*, *I did not begin firſt, but they came out to take me, and I was afraid that God ſhould ſee me turn my Back; and indeed I fought in good earneſt, and without doubt God aſſiſted me againſt them; and if it had not been for diſobeying your Order, I ſhould not have come away as I did; and I perceive already that they will fall into our Hands.* Abubeker. Alwâkidi.

Then *Caled* ſet his Army in good Order. *Mâd Ebn Jabal*, and *Nomân Ebno'lmokarren* led the right Wing; and *Saïd Ebn Amer*, and *Serjabil Ebn Haſanah* the Left. *Yezid Ebn Abi Sophyan* with four thouſand Horſe guarded the Baggage, Women and Children. *Caulah* and

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Opheirah, and ſeveral other Women of the higheſt Rank and chief Families of the *Arabian* Tribes, with a great many more of inferiour Note, prepared themſelves for the Battle. *Caled* turned about to them, and ſaid, *Noble Girls, aſſure your ſelves, that what you do is very acceptable to God and his Apoſtle, and the Muſlemans; you will hereby purchaſe a laſting Memory, and the Gates of Paradiſe will be opened to you. And aſſure your ſelves, that I repoſe a great deal of Confidence in you. If any Party of the Greeks fall upon you, fight for your ſelves; and if you ſee any of the Muſlemans turn his Back, ſtay him, and aſk him, whether he runs from his Family and Children; for by this means you will encourage the Muſlemans to fight.* *Opheirah* told him, that they were all ready to fight till they died.

Then he rode about, and encouraged his Men, and bid them fight for the ſake of their Wives and Children, and Religion, and ſtand cloſe to it; for if they were beaten, they had no Place to eſcape to, nor any thing left to truſt to. After this he went into the main Body of the Army, and ſtood there with *Amrou Ebno'l Aâs*, *Abdo'rrahmân* the Caliph's Son, *Iezid Ebn Hobéirah*, *Raphi Ebn Omeirah*, and ſeveral other Saracens of Note. The two Armies covered the Plains: The Chriſtians made a great Noiſe,

and

and the Saracens repeated as faſt as they could, *La Ilaha illa Allàh, Mahammed Reſoul Allàh:* That is, *There is but one God*; Mahomet *is the Apoſtle of God.* Our Author tells us, that juſt before the Battle began, there came out a grave old Man from the Chriſtian Army, and went towards the Saracens, and enquired for the General. *Caled* came forth to him, and the old Man aſked him, if he was the General? *They look upon me as ſuch* (ſaid *Caled*) *ſo long as I continue in my Duty towards God, and the Obſervance of what he has left us by his Prophet* Mahomet *of bleſſed Memory; otherwiſe I have no Command or Authority over them.* The old Man told him, that they were come to invade a Land, which had been attempted oftentimes before, but with very ill Succeſs. That thoſe who had undertook the Conqueſt of it, had found their Sepultures in that very Place where they deſigned to erect their Empire. That, though they had lately obtained a Victory over the Chriſtians, yet they muſt not expect that the Advantage would long continue on their ſide. That the Emperor had ſent a very numerous Army: That the General however had ſent him to acquaint him, that if they would depart without any Acts of Hoſtility, he would preſent every Saracen in the Army with a Suit of Cloaths, a Turbant, and a Piece of Money,

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and the General himſelf with ten Suits, and an hundred Pieces. And to their Maſter *Abubeker*, the Caliph, an hundred Suits, and a thouſand Pieces, *No*, ſaid the Saracen, *no Peace, but either become Tributaries forthwith, or elſe* Mahometans; *otherwiſe the Sword muſt determine the Controverſy betwixt us. And as for your great Army that you ſpeak of; we are promiſed the Victory by our Prophet* Mahomet, *in the Book which was ſent down to him. And then for your Proffer of giving us Veſts, Turbants and Money, we ſhall in a ſhort time be Maſters of all your Cloaths, and all the good Things you have about you.* *Meâd* encouraged the Saracens with the Hopes of Paradiſe, and the Enjoyment of everlaſting Life, if they fought for the Cauſe of God and Religion. *Softly*, ſaid *Caled, let me get them all into good Order before you ſet them upon fighting.* When he had done ſetting them in Order, he ſaid, *Look to it, for your Enemies are two to your one, and there is no breaking them, but by out-winding them. Hold out till the Evening, for that is the time in which the Prophet obtained the Victory. Have a care you don't turn your Backs, for God ſees you.* The [illegible] were now come very near, and the Armenian Archers ſhot at the Saracens, and killed and wounded a great many; but *Caled* would not let a Man ſtir. *Derar*, at laſt, impatient of Delay, ſaid;

What

What do we ſtand ſtill for? The Enemy will think we are afraid of him; prithee give us the Word of Command, and let us go. *Caled* gave him leave, and he began the Battle; and in a little time a great Part of both the Armies were engaged, and a great many fell on both ſides, but more Chriſtians than Saracens. *Werdàn* perceiving the great Diſadvantage his Men laboured under, was in great Perplexity, and adviſed with his Officers what was beſt to be done. For no Art of a General, nor any Terms he could propoſe, were ſufficient to encourage the Chriſtians to fight ſo deſperately as the Saracens, who cared not for their Lives, being all of them fully perſwaded, that whoſoever was killed in fighting for the Propagation of their Religion, ſhould certainly receive a Crown of Martyrdom. And it is moſt true, that nothing will make Men expoſe themſelves unconcernedly to the greateſt Dangers, like a Spirit of Enthuſiaſm. It was agreed, that the beſt thing they could do, would be to circumvent the General of the Saracens by ſome Stratagem, which would extremely diſcourage the reſt, and facilitate the Victory. This was attempted after this manner: A Meſſenger was to be ſent to *Caled*, to deſire him to ſound a Retreat, and let the Battle ceaſe for that Day, and meet *Werdàn* the next Morning at a certain Place within View of both the Armies, Abubeker. Alwákidi.

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where they, the two Generals alone, might treat, in order to find out ſome Expedient for the preventing the Effuſion of ſo much Blood, as muſt of neceſſity be loſt on both ſides, if the War continued. There was to be an Ambuſcade of ten Men conveniently placed, to ſeize the Saracen. The Meſſage was delivered to one *David*, who was privy to the Secret. When he had received his Errand, he went and enquired for *Caled*, who rode to him, and with a ſtern Look preſented his Lance. *Sir*, ſaid *David*, *I am no Soldier, but have only a Meſſage to deliver to you; therefore pray turn your Lance away whilſt I am talking with you.* Upon which *Caled* laid his Lance a-croſs upon the Pummel of his Saddle, and ſaid, *Speak to the Purpoſe then, and tell no Lyes. So I will, ſays* David, *if you will promiſe me Security for my ſelf and my Family.* Which *Caled* had no ſooner done, but he acquainted him thoroughly with the whole Buſineſs. *Well*, ſaid *Caled, go and tell him, it ſhall be ſo.* Preſently after *Abu Obeidah* met *Caled*, and obſerving an unuſual Briſkneſs and Gaiety in his Countenance, aſked him, What was the Matter? *Caled* told him the Contrivance, and added, *I durſt venture to go alone, and engage to bring thee all their Heads along with me.* *Abu Obeidah* told him, that he was a Perſon likely enough to do ſuch a thing; but ſince the Pro-

phet

phet had no where commanded them to expoſe themſelves to unneceſſary Danger, he would have him take ten Men to anſwer them. *Derar* thought it not the beſt way to defer it till the Morning, but was for going that Evening to ſurprize that Ambuſcade. Having obtained Leave, he went, after it was dark, towards the Place whether *Werdàn* had ſent his Ambuſcade before. When he came near, he ordered his Men to ſtand ſtill, whilſt he went to obſerve their Poſture. Then he put off his Cloaths (for he was as often uſed to go without as with) and took his Sword, and went creeping along, till he came ſo near as to hear them ſnoar, for they were all drunk and aſleep, and their Arms lay under their Heads. Having ſo fair an Opportunity, he had much ado to forbear killing them himſelf; but conſidering that one of them might poſſibly awaken the other, he came back, and brought his Companions along with him, who took each of them his Man, and diſpatched the Ambuſcade with all imaginable Silence and Secrecy: The next thing to be done, was to ſtrip theſe Men, and put on their Cloaths, for fear any of the Greeks ſhould chance to come by the Place, and ſeeing them in their *Arabian* Habit, make a Diſcovery. *Derar* told them, that it was a good Omen, and that he did not at all queſtion but that God would fulfil his Promiſe to them.

Abubeker Alwákidi

About

Abubeker. Alwâkidi.

About break of Day, *Caled* ſaid the Morn-Prayer in the Camp, and drew up his Army in order of Battle: Then he put on a yellow Silk Veſt and a green Turbant. As ſoon as the Chriſtians ſaw the Saracens in order, *Werdàn* ſent an Horſeman, who rode up to the Front of the Saracen Army, and cried out, *Hearkye, you* Arabians; *Is this fair Play? Have you forgot your Agreement you made with us Yeſterday? How!* ſaid *Caled*; *what! charge us with Breach of Promiſe? The General*, anſwered the Meſſenger, *expects you ſhould be as good as your Word, and meet him, in order to treat of a Peace. Go and tell him*, ſays *Caled*, *that I am juſt a coming.* Quickly after, *Caled* ſaw *Werdàn* go out upon a Mule, very richly dreſſed and adorned with Gold Chains and precious Stones. *Hah!* ſays he, *this will be all ours by and by, if it pleaſe God.* Then he went after him, and when he was almoſt at him, they both alighted. When *Werdàn* had drawn him pretty near the Place where the Ambuſh lay; they ſat down oppoſite to one another to diſcourſe, but *Werdàn* ſtill kept his Hand upon the Hilt of his Sword, for fear the Saracen ſhould chance to fall upon him on a ſudden. *Come*, ſays *Caled*, *now let us hear what you have to ſay; but be ſure you deal fairly, and like a Man, and tell no Lyes; for it does not at all become Men in eminent Stations to deal*

deal deceitfully, and uſe Tricks. What I deſire of you, ſaid *Werdàn, is, that you would let us know what you would have, and come to ſome reaſonable Terms, that we may have Peace, and live at quiet on both Sides; and whatſoever you deſire of us, we will give you freely, for we know that you are a poor ſort of People, and live in a barren Country, and in great Scantineſs and Scarcity; therefore if a ſmall Matter will content you, we will give it you willingly. Alas! for thee, thou Chriſtian Dog,* ſaid *Caled, we bleſs God that he has provided a great deal better for us than to live upon your Charity, and what you pleaſe to ſpare; for he has given all that you have freely to us, nay even your Wives and your Children to be divided amongſt us, unleſs you can ſay,* LA ILAHA, *&c.* There is but one God, *Mahomet* is the Apoſtle of God: *Or if you do not like that, pay Tribute. If that will not do, then let the Sword determine between us, and God give the Victory to which Side he pleaſes. There are no other Terms to be had of us. And for your talking of Peace to us, we for our parts take more Delight in War; and for your ſaying that we are ſuch a contemptible People, I would have you know that we reckon you no better than Dogs. [illegible] I don't talk like a Man that is much inclined to Peace; and if the Meaning of your calling me hither, was, that you might have me alone;* Abubeker. Alwâkidi.

here

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

here we are in a Place by our ſelves, far enough both from my Army and yours: Come and fight with me if you dare. Immediately upon this, *Werdàn* roſe up, but truſting to the Ambuſcade, made no haſte to draw his Sword. *Caled* ſeized him forthwith, and ſhook him, and turned him about every way. Then he cried, *Come out, come hither, this* Arab *has ſeiz'd me.* Aſſoon as they heard his Voice, they came forth, and *Werdàn*, at firſt Sight, took them to be his own Men; but when they came nearer, and he ſaw *Derar* before them, with nothing on but a Pair of Breeches, and ſhaking his Sword at him, he began to be extreamly uneaſy, and ſaid to *Caled*, *I beg of you not to deliver me into the Hands of that* [1]*Devil*; *I hate the Sight of him, it was he that killed my Son.* *Caled* ſwore by God, that when he came up, he would kill him too. By this time *Derar* was come up, and ſaid, *Now thou curſed Wretch, what is become of thy Deceit, with which thou would'ſt have enſnared the Companions of the Apoſtle of God?* And was juſt a going to kill him. *Hold*, ſaid *Caled*, *let him alone till I give you the Word.* When he ſaw himſelf in the midſt of his Enemies, he fell upon the Ground, and began to cry *Quarter:* But *Caled* anſwered, *Là Amân illà Beïmán*; *No Quarter*, (or *Security*) *where there is no Faith kept. You*

[1] Arab. *Shaithân.*

pretended

Abubeker. Alwakidi.

pretended to Peace, and at the ſame time deſigned to murder me treacherouſly. The Word was no ſooner out of his Mouth, but *Derar* ſtruck his Head off. Then they ſtript him, and put his Head upon the Point of *Caled*'s Lance, and marched towards the Army. As ſoon as the Chriſtians eſpied them, they thought they had been their own Men, and that *Werdàn* had brought the Saracen's Head along with him. The Saracens thought ſo too, and were under great Concern for *Caled*. Aſſoon as ever they came near, they charged the Chriſtians, and *Abu Obeidah* (who commanded the Army in *Caled*'s Abſence) knew them, and told his Men. Then they fell on, and engaged in all Parts with all the Vigour imaginable. The Fight, or rather the Slaughter, continued till Evening. The Chriſtian Army was entirely routed and defeated. The Saracens killed that Day fifty thouſand Men. Thoſe that eſcaped fled, ſome of them to *Cæſarea*, others to *Damaſcus*, and ſome to *Antioch*. The Saracens took Plunder of ineſtimable Value, and a great many Banners, and Croſſes made of Gold and Silver, precious Stones, Silver and Gold Chains, rich Cloaths, and Arms without Number; which *Caled* ſaid he would not divide till *Damaſcus* was taken. Upon this *Caled* ſends a Meſſenger with the following Letter, to *Abubeker* the Caliph.

In

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

In the Name of the moſt merciful God.

" From the Servant of God, *Caled Ebn Wa-*
" *led*, to the Succeſſor of the Apoſtle of God,
" upon whom be the Bleſſing of God. I praiſe
" God, who is the only God, and there is none
" other beſides him; and I pray for his Prophet
" *Mahomet*, upon whom be the Bleſſing of God:
" And I praiſe him, and give Thanks to him
" ſtill more, for his delivering the True Believers,
" and deſtroying the Idolaters, and extinguiſh-
" ing the Light of thoſe that err. I acquaint
" thee, O Emperor of the Faithful, that we met
" with the Grecian Army at *Ajnadîn*, with *Wer-*
" *dân* the Prefect of *Hems*; and they ſwore by[1]
" Chriſt, that they would not run away, nor
" turn their Backs, though they were killed to
" the laſt Man: So we fell upon them, calling
" upon God, and truſting upon him, and God
" ſupported us, and gave us the Victory, and our
" Enemies were decreed to be overcome, and
" we killed them on all Sides, to the Number
" of fifty thouſand Men; and we loſt of the
" Muſlemans in two Battles, four hundred and
" ſeventy-four Men; and this Letter is written
" on the fifth Day of the Week, being the thir-
" tieth of the firſt *Jomâdân*; and we are now
" returning to *Damaſcus*, if it pleaſe God. Pray
" for our Succeſs and Proſperity. Farewell. The

[1] Arab. *Bidînihim*, i. e. by their Religion.

" Peace

" Peace and Bleſſing of God be upon thee and " all the Muſlemans." Abubeker Alwâkidi.

As ſoon as the Meſſenger told the Caliph the News, he fell down and worſhipped God. Then he opened the Letter, and read it over firſt to himſelf, and then to thoſe that were about him. The News immediately flew through all the Country; and the hungry *Arabians* came thronging to *Medinah*, to beg Leave of the Caliph to go into *Syria*, all of them expecting great Places and large Poſſeſſions, and were very willing to exchange the uncultivated Deſerts of *Arabia Petræa*, for the Delicacies of *Damaſcus*. *Omar* did by no means approve of their Motion, but ſaid to *Abubeker*, " You know what ſort of Fel- " lows theſe were to us, when time was: When " they were able to oppoſe us, and we were " but few in Number, they endeavoured, to the " utmoſt of their Power, to ruin our Religion, " and put out the Light of God; and when " they did turn, it was only to ſave themſelves, " and now they ſee God has been pleaſed to bleſs " our Forces with Succeſs, they are willing to " ſhare in the Spoil, and they'll go and make a " Diſturbance among thoſe who have got it with " their Swords. Therefore I pray let none of " them go; but let thoſe that have won it, wear " it." *Abubeker* was of his Mind. As ſoon as the Inhabitants of *Meccah* heard it, they were greatly

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

greatly concerned, and thought themſelves very much affronted. Some of the *Coreiſtæ* (a noble Tribe among the *Arabs*, and which had violently oppoſed *Mahomet* at his firſt ſetting out, and made him flee from *Meccah* to *Medinah*) came in a Body, to make their Complaint to *Abubeker* the Caliph, whom they found ſitting with ſome Muſſemans, and *Ali* on the Right-Hand, and *Omar* on his Left. When they had paid due Reverence to the Caliph, *Abu Sophyan* accoſted *Omar* after this manner. *It is true, in the Times*[a] *of Ignorance, there uſed to be Claſhing and Difference amongſt us; and we did what we could againſt you, and you the like to us. But now ſince it has pleaſed God to direct us both into the true Religion, that ought to deſtroy all Hatred and Animoſities between us. For the Faith deſtroys Hatred and Variance, as well as Idolatry. And yet you continue your Hatred ſtill, notwithſtanding we are your Brethren in Religion, and your near Relations beſides. What is the Meaning of this Spite both formerly and now? Is it not time to purify your Hearts from Envy? That you did come into the Profeſſion of the true Religion before us we confeſs, and are willing upon that ſcore, to pay you all the Reſpect which is due.* Having ſaid thus, he held his Peace, and *Arak* commended him, and ſeconded him. Then *Abu Sophyan* deſired the Caliph and all the Muſſemans

[a] So they call all the Time before *Mahomet*.

to

to bear witneſs, that he took upon himſelf freely to fight for the Cauſe of God: The like did all the chief of *Meccah* which were preſent. This ſatisfied the Caliph, and made him be content to let them go. Upon which he prayed to God to confirm them in their good Reſolutions, and bleſs them with anſwerable Succeſs. Then he wrote a Letter to *Caled*; in which he acquainted him, that he had received his with great Satisfaction; and that he had ſent to him ſome of the Chief of *Meccah*, and the adjacent Country, particularly *Amrou Ebn Maadi*, and *Malek Alaſhtar*: And ordered him, after he had conquered *Damaſcus*, to go on to *Hems*, *Mearrah*, and *Antioch*; and bid him be kind to the Muſlemans, and think upon Mortality, and ſo concluded. When he had done, he ſealed it with *Mahomet*'s Seal, and delivered it to *Abdo'rrahmân*, the ſame that brought him the Letter from *Caled*. Abubeker. Alwâkidi.

When *Caled* ſent the Letter to *Abubeker*, he was upon his March from *Ajnadin* to *Damaſcus*. The poor Inhabitants had heard the lamentable News of the Loſs of the Emperor's General and Army. In the mean time, whilſt the *Saracens* were abſent, a great many of the Inhabitants of the neighbouring Villages, to ſecure themſelves, got into *Damaſcus*. The Return of the *Saracens* was daily expected, and all manner of Warlike Preparation was made for the enduring a Siege.

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Their Engines were planted upon the Walls, and Banners diſplayed. In a little time their Hearts aked, when they ſaw the *Saracens* appear with a formidable Army, fluſhed with Succeſs, and enriched with the Spoils of their Countrymen and Neighbours. *Amrou Ebno'l Aâs* led the Front, conſiſting of above nine thouſand Horſe. After him came *Abu Sophyan* with two thouſand: Then *Serjabil Ebn Haſanah* (who was one of *Mahomet*'s Secretaries when he wrote the *Alcoran*:) After him *Omar Ebn Rebiyah*. *Caled* marched in the Rear, and brought up the reſt of the Army under the Standard of the Black Eagle. When they were within a Mile of the City, *Caled* called all the Generals together, and gave them their reſpective Charges, and ſaid to *Abu Obeidah*, "You know very well the Villainy and "Deceit of theſe People, and how they came "and fell upon our Rear, as we were in our "March to *Ajnadîn*. Have a care of them there-"fore, and don't be ſo favourable, nor agree to "give them Security, for they will certainly "play ſome Trick with you. Go and ſit down "before the Gate *Jabiyah*, at a good Diſtance, "and aſſault them frequently, and don't let the "Length of the Time make you uneaſy, for "Victory is the Reward of Patience." *Abu Obeidah* went according to Order, and pitched his Tent, which was made of Hair; for he would

by

by no means ſuffer them to ſet up one of thoſe rich Tents which they had taken from the *Greeks* at *Ajnadîn*. Which my Author ſays, "Proceeded from his great Humility to God, and the Shortneſs[1] of his Hope, and that he might not pleaſe himſelf with the gay Things of this World, and the Poſſeſſions of it. For they did not fight for Dominion, but in hopes of receiving a Reward from God, and having their Portion in a future State. And they uſed to ſet thoſe Tents and Spoil which they had taken, at a great Diſtance from them; and if at any time they found any Victuals of the Chriſtians, they would not eat it, becauſe the Name of God was not mentioned over it when it was killed." *Abu Sophyan* was placed over againſt the *Little Gate*; *Serjabil Ebn Haſanah* at St. *Thomas*'s Gate with 2000 Horſe; *Amrou Ebn'ol Aâs* at *Paradiſe* Gate; *Kais Ebn Hobeirah* ſat down before the Gate *Kaiſán*. There was another, which was called St. *Mark*'s Gate; where there never was any fighting, (whether becauſe of the Incommodiouſneſs of the Place, or for what other Reaſon, I know not) which upon that Account was called *Bao'b-'ſſalâmah, The Gate of Peace*. After he had given Orders, he went himſelf and ſat down

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

[1] Arab. *Kefa'lami.*

Abubeker. Alwâkidi.

before the Eaſt Gate. Then he called *Derar* to him; and gave him the Command of two thouſand Horſe, and ordered him to keep riding round about the Camp, and never ſtand ſtill long in any Place, for fear any Succours ſhould come from the Emperor, and ſurprize the Camp: *And* (ſays he) *if they be too hard for thee, ſend to me, and I'll help thee. I ſuppoſe then* (ſaid *Derar*) *that I am to ſtand ſtill the mean while! No, no,* (ſaid *Caled*) *I don't mean ſo neither.* There were none of the Saracens on Horſe-back, but thoſe which were with *Derar*, whoſe Buſineſs it was to ride round the Camp, and guard it: For the Saracens, if they engaged Horſe, uſed their Horſes: If otherwiſe, they for the moſt part fought on Foot. *Caled* having thus formed his Siege, the next Morning early the Beſieged ſallied out, and the Fight continued till the Evening. That ſame Day *Caled* received *Abubeker*'s Letter, and after the Fight was over, ſent it to the Generals, who were poſted at the ſeveral Gates.

The poor Inhabitants perceiving themſelves now beſieged in good earneſt, began to think of coming to Terms, and rather ſubmit to pay Tribute, and to ſecure their Lives and Fortunes, than by ſtanding it out, expoſe themſelves to inevitable Death. The chief of them met, and a conſiderable part of them were very much inclined

:lined to ſurrender. *Thomas*, the Emperor's Son- Abubeker.
n-law, lived then in *Damaſcus*, but as a private Alwâkidi.
Man, not in any Commiſſion; for though the Emperor had offered him honourable Poſts, he refuſed to accept of any Employment; but was neverthelefs a Perſon of great Courage, and an excellent Soldier. Out of Reſpect to his Quality and Abilities, the Citizens thought it adviſeable to do nothing raſhly, without having firſt conſulted him. When they came to his Palace, he ſeemed to wonder, *That theſe vile* Arabs, *poor Wretches, naked and barefoot, and far from completely armed, ſhould be able to put them in ſuch a Conſternation.* He told them, *That the* Arabs *were Maſters of no Courage, but what was wholly owing to their Fear: That there was a great deal of Difference, both in reſpect of Number, Arms, and every thing elſe that made an Army conſiderable, between them and the* Damaſcens. Adding, *That they had no Reaſon to deſpair of the Victory.* The Citizens told him, with Submiſſion, that he was under a great Miſtake: *For the late Victories of the* Arabs *had furniſhed them very well with Arms. Beſides* (ſaid they) *they all fight like mad Men; for they encounter us naked, or any way, though under never ſo great Diſadvantages, for they ſtedfaſtly believe, that every one of their own Men that is killed, paſſes immediately to Paradiſe, and every one of ours to Hell;*

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and this makes them deſperate. To which *Thomas* anſwered, *That it was plain from thence, that they had no true Courage, who were forced to make uſe of ſuch an Artifice to encourage themſelves to fight. Well, Sir,* ſaid they, *if you will be pleaſed to help us, and put us in a way to make a Defence, we ſhall be at your Service, otherwiſe we muſt ſurrender. Thomas* was afraid they ſhould be in earneſt; and, after a little Pauſe, he promiſed to go out with them the next Morning.

They kept Watch all the Night, and ſupplied the Abſence of the Sun with numberleſs Lights placed in the Turrets. The Saracens were encouraging one another to do their utmoſt againſt the Enemies of God, as they uſed to call all but themſelves. In the Morning early they prepared for Battle; and the Saracens were ready to make a General Aſſault. All the Generals ſaid their Prayers among their Men, and *Caled* bad them hold out, *for they ſhould reſt after Death*; adding, *That is the beſt Reſt which ſhall never be ſucceeded by any Labour. Thomas* was ready in the Morning, and juſt as he was going out, they ſet up a Crucifix at the Gate, and the Biſhop, attended with ſome other of the Clergy, brought the New Teſtament, and placed it at a little Diſtance from the Crucifix. As *Thomas* went out at the Gate, he laid his Hand upon the Cover of the Teſta-

ment,

ment, and ſaid, *O God! if our Religion be true, help us, and deliver us not into the Hand of our Enemies; but overthrow the Oppreſſor, for thou knoweſt him. O God, help thoſe which profeſs the Truth, and are in the right way. Serjabil* heard him ſay ſomething, but could not tell what; and when *Romanus* (who was the treacherous Governour of *Boſtra*, and uſed to be their Interpreter) had explained it to him, he was very angry, and cried out; *Thou lieſt, thou Enemy of God; for Jeſus is of no more account with God than* Adam. *He created him out of the Duſt, and made him a living Man, walking upon the Earth, and afterwards raiſed him to Heaven.* The Battle was joined forthwith, and *Thomas* fought admirably well; he was an incomparable Archer, and ſhot a great many of the Saracens. Among the reſt he wounded *Abân Ebn Saïd* with a poiſoned Arrow. *Abân* drew out the Arrow, and unfolding his Turban, bound up the Wound. But he quickly felt the Effect of the Poiſon in his Body, and not being able to hold up any longer, was carried into the Camp, where his Friends would by all means unbind the Wound, to dreſs it; but he told them, if they did, he ſhould die inſtantly. Which accordingly happened, for they had no ſooner opened it, but he immediately languiſhed; and when he could ſpeak no longer, continued teſtifying, by Signs, the Stedfaſt-

Abubeker. Alwâkidi.

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

neſs of his Belief in God and *Mahomet*. He was newly married; no longer ago than when the Saracens were at *Ajnadîn*, to a brave Virago, one of the fighting ſort, who could uſe a Bow and Arrows very well. As ſoon as ſhe heard the News of his Death, ſhe came running in great Haſte; and when ſhe ſaw him, ſhe bore it with admirable Patience, and ſaid, *Happy art thou, my Dear, thou art gone to thy Lord, who firſt joined us together, and then parted us aſunder: I will revenge thy Death, and endeavour to the utmoſt of my Power to come to the Place where thou art, becauſe I love thee. Henceforth ſhall no Man ever touch me more, for I have dedicated myſelf to the Service of God.* Then they waſhed him (as is their Cuſtom) and buried him forthwith, with the uſual Solemnities. She never wept nor wail'd, but with a Courage above what could be expected from the Weakneſs of her Sex, armed herſelf with his Weapons, and went into the Battle without *Caled*'s notice. When ſhe came into the Field, ſhe aſked whereabouts it was that *Abân* was kill'd. They told her, over againſt St. *Thomas*'s Gate, and that *Thomas*, the Emperor's Son-in-Law, was the Man that did it. Away ſhe went towards the Place, and with the firſt Arrow ſhot the Standard-bearer in the Hand. The Standard fell down, and the Saracens inſtantly ſnatch'd it up, and carried it off.

Thomas

Thomas was grievouſly concerned at the Loſs of the Standard, and laid about him furiouſly, and ordered his Men to look about them narrowly, to ſee if they could find it any where, and retake it, if poſſible. When the Saracens that had it ſaw themſelves hard beſet, they ſhifted it from one to another, till it came to *Serjabil*'s Hands. The Damaſcens followed *Thomas* with a great deal of Courage and Vigour, and there began a moſt bloody Battle; and all the while the Engines played from the Walls upon the Saracens, and threw Stones and Arrows as thick as Hail. They plied them ſo well from the Walls, that the Saracens were forced to retreat, and fight out of the reach of the Engines. *Thomas* at laſt ſpied the Standard in *Serjabil*'s Hand, and made up to him, and fell upon him like a Lion. Upon which *Serjabil* threw the Standard away, and engaged his Adverſary. Whilſt they were fighting, and every one admired *Thomas*'s Valour, *Abân*'s Wife ſaw him, and aſked who it was: They told her, it was the ſame Man that killed her Huſband. As ſoon as ſhe heard that, ſhe levelled an Arrow at him, and ſhot him into the Eye; ſo that he was forced to retire into the City. The Saracens followed him cloſe, and killed three hundred in the Purſuit, and would have gone after him further, but they durſt not for the Engines. Abubeker. Alwâkidi.

Thomas

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

Thomas had his Eye dreſſed, but would by no means be perſwaded to go to his Houſe, though the Inhabitants of the Town intreated him very much, and told him, that there was no Good to be done with theſe *Arabs*, but that the beſt way would be to ſurrender the Town. But he, being a Man of undaunted Courage and Reſolution, ſaid, they ſhould not come off ſo; that they ſhould not take his ſtandard, and put his Eye out unrevenged. He conſidered what a Reflection it would be upon his Honour, and how the Emperor would look upon it, if he ſhould ſuffer himſelf to be diſheartned and daunted by the *Arabs*. The Battle continued till Night parted them; *Thomas* all the while continued in the Gate, meditating Revenge. When it was dark, he ſent for the Chief Men of the City, and not at all daunted, ſaid to them, *Look ye, you have to do with a People, who have neither good Manners, nor Religion, nor any Faith or Honeſty belonging to them*, (for which Words my Author is very angry with him, and gives him an hearty [1] Curſe) *and if they ſhould make any Agreement with you, and give you Security, they'll never ſtand to their Word, but lay the Country waſte: And how can you bear to ſee what is deareſt to you invaded, and your*

[1] Arab. *Kádaba'llaïn Achzàho'llâh*; that is, The accurſed (meaning *Thomas*) lyed, God confound him.

poor

poor Children made Slaves, and your ſelves turned out, of Houſe and Harbour, and deprived of all the Conveniencies of Life? They told him, they were ready at his Service, either to fight upon the Walls, or to ſally. Then he ordered them every Man to make ready with all poſſible ſpeed and all the Silence imaginable, that they might not give the leaſt Alarm to the Saracens. All the armed Men were drawn up at the ſeveral Gates, and upon a Signal given by one ſingle Stroke upon a Bell, the Gates were all opened at the ſame inſtant; the Chriſtians (ſome few only excepted, who were left to ſecure the Gates and the Walls) ſallied out all together, and poured in upon the Saracen Camp like a Torrent, in hopes of finding them wounded and tired, and altogether unprovided to receive ſo vigorous an Attack. The whole Camp was immediately alarmed; and as ſoon as *Caled* knew it, he ſaid, *O God, who never ſleepeſt, look upon thy Servants, and do not deliver them into the Hands of their Enemies.* Then he ordered *Phelján Ebn Zeyâd* to ſupply his Place, and rode with four hundred Men as faſt as he could, and the Tears lay upon his Cheeks for the Concern he had upon him for his dear Saracens. The Care of *Serjabil* and *Abu Obeidah* made him very anxious, being well aware of *Thomas*'s Valour. When he came near the Gate, he found

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

found how things ſtood; *Thomas* had fallen violently upon the Saracens, and before he came out, commanded his Men to give Quarter to none but the General. The *Jews*, which were in *Damaſcus*, plaid the Engines upon the Saracens. *Thomas* was again engaged with his former Adverſary *Serjabil*. *Abân*'s Wife was among *Serjabil*'s Men, and did great Execution with her Bow and Arrows, till ſhe had ſpent them all but one, which ſhe kept to make Signs with as ſhe ſaw Occaſion, Preſently one of the Chriſtians advanced up towards her, ſhe ſhot him in the Throat, and killed him, and was then taken Priſoner. *Serjabil* at laſt ſtruck a violent Stroke, which *Thomas* receiving upon his Buckler, *Serjabil*'s Sword broke. *Thomas* thought himſelf ſure of him, and had certainly either killed him, or taken him Priſoner, but *Abdo'r-rahmán* and *Abân* (*Othman*'s Son, who was afterwards Caliph) came up at that inſtant with a Regiment of freſh Horſe, and reſcued both him and *Abân*'s Wife. *Thomas* perceiving the Saracens came in ſo faſt upon him, retired into the City. We ſaid before that *Abu Obeidah* was poſted at the Gate *Jabiyah*; he was in his Tent when the Chriſtians firſt ſallied out, and went to Prayers. Afterwards, whilſt his Men were engaged, he took a Party, and got between the Chriſtians and the City; ſo that they

they were ſurrounded, and charged on both Sides. They made a quick Diſpatch for them, for never a Man that went out at that Gate, returned again: And though thoſe that ſallied at the other Gates eſcaped ſomething better, yet the Chriſtians had no Reaſon to boaſt of any Advantage, having loſt that Night ſeveral thouſand Men. Abubeker. Alwákidi.

The Chriſtians now quite diſheartned, came about *Thomas*, with repeated Intreaties to ſurrender; they told him, they had loſt above half their Men, and what were left were not ſufficient for the Defence of the Town: They told him at laſt, in plain Terms, that as to what concerned himſelf, he might manage as he pleaſed, but for their Parts they were reſolved to get as good Terms for themſelves as they could. *Thomas*, however, endeavoured to perſwade them to ſtay till he ſhould write to the Grecian Emperor, and accordingly did write. The *Saracens* continued fighting hard, and reduced the Beſieged to very great Streights, who now every Day made a worſe Defence than other. They deſired *Caled* to leave off the Aſſault, that they might have a little time to conſider: But he turned a deaf ear to them, for he had rather take them by Force, put them to the Sword, and let his *Saracens* have the Plunder, than that they ſhould ſurrender, and have

Security

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

Security for themſelves and their Fortunes. But *Abu Obeidah* was of a quite different Diſpoſition, a well meaning, merciful Man, who had rather at all times that they ſhould ſurrender, and become Tributaries, than be expoſed to any Extremity; and this the Beſieged knew very well: Wherefore, one Night they ſent a Meſſenger that underſtood *Arabick*, out at that Gate where *Abu Obeidah* was poſted, who called out to the Centinels, and deſired ſafe Conduct for ſome of the Inhabitants of *Damaſcus* to come to their Maſter *Abu Obeidah*, in order to talk of an Agreement. As ſoon as *Abu Obeidah* was acquainted with the News, he was very glad to hear it, and ſent *Abu Hobeirah* to the *Damaſcens*, to let them know that they ſhould have free Liberty to go where they pleaſed. They aſked him whether or no he was one of *Mahomet*'s Companions, that they might depend upon him? He told them, that he was, but that made no Difference; for if the meaneſt Slave among them had given them Security, it would have been all one, for they ſhould have performed it, becauſe God had ſaid, in the Book which he ſent to their Prophet *Mahomet*, [1] *Perform your Covenant, for that ſhall be called to an Account.* Upon this, about an hundred of the Chief of the Citizens and Clergy went out,

[1] *Alcoran*, Chap. XVII. 36.

and

and when they came near the Camp, some of the *Saracens* met them, and took off their Circingles, and conducted them to *Abu Obeidah*'s Tent; who used them very civilly, and bid them sit down, and told them that their Prophet *Mahomet* had commanded them to pay Respect to Persons of Rank and Quality. They were very glad to find him so courteous, and when they came to talk of terms, they first desired that their Churches might be secured to them, and not any way alienated. He granted them seven Churches, and gave them a Writing, but did not set his own Name to it, nor any Witnesses, because he was not General. Then he went, attended with about an hundred Men, to take Possession, When he came to the Gates, he demanded Hostages; which being delivered, he entered into the City. Abubeker. Alwâkidi.

Caled was altogether ignorant of this Transaction, and was, at the very same time when this Business was concluded, making a sharp Assault at the East Gate, being especially provoked at the Loss of *Caled Ebn Saïd* (*Amrou Ebno'l Aâs* his Brother, by the Mother's Side) whom one of the Besieged had shot with a poisoned Arrow. In the mean time, there came to *Caled* from the Town one *Josias* a Priest, who told him, that having been long conversant with ancient Writings and Prophecies, and especially

the

Abubeker. Alwâkidi.

the Prophet *Daniel*, he was abundantly ſatisfied of the future Greatneſs of the Saracen Empire, and proffered his Service to introduce him and his Army into the Town, upon Condition that *Caled* would grant him Security for him and his. Whether any Conviction that he had met with in reading that Prophet, or the Deſire he had to preſerve himſelf, was the prevailing Motive with him, I ſhall not determine. Neither did *Caled* much trouble himſelf about that, but gave him his Hand to perform the Condition, and ſent with him an hundred Men, moſt of them *Homerites*, (a warlike Tribe of the *Arabs*) and bid them as ſoon as they were entered to cry out as loud as they could *Allàh Acbar*, and make themſelves Maſters of the Gates, and break the Bolts, and remove the Chains, that he with the reſt of the Army might march into the City without any Difficulty. This was accordingly performed. The poor Chriſtians, as ſoon as ever they heard the *Tecbîr*, (ſo the *Arabs* call the crying out *Allàh Acbar*) were ſenſible that the City was loſt; and were ſeized with ſuch an Aſtoniſhment, that they let their Weapons fall out of their Hands. *Caled* entering at the Eaſt Gate with the *Saracens*, put all to the Sword, and Chriſtian Blood ſtreamed down the Streets of *Damaſcus*. They went on thus murdering all they found, till

till they came to St. *Mary*'s Church, where they met with *Abu Obeidah* and his Company. When *Caled* ſaw *Abu Obeidah*, and his Men in their March, and the Prieſts and Monks before them, and all the *Saracens* with their Swords by their Sides, not ſo much as one drawn, he wondered what was the Matter. *Abu Obeidah* perceived in him Tokens of Diſlike, and ſaid, *God has delivered the City into my Hands by way of Surrender, and ſaved the Believers the Trouble of fighting.* At which *Caled* was very angry, and ſaid, that he had taken it by the Sword, and they ſhould have no Security. *Abu Obeidah* told him, that he had given them an Article in writing, which they had here to ſhew: *And how* (ſaid *Caled*) *came you to agree with them, without acquainting me firſt? Did not you know me? Did not you know that I am your General, and* [3]*Maſter of your Counſels? And therefore I'll put them every one to the Sword. I did not think* (ſaid *Abu Obeidah*) *that when I had made an Agreement, or* [4] *deſigned to do any thing, you would ever have contradicted me, or have gone about to make it void. But you ſhall not make it void, for I have given all theſe People my Protection, and that in the Name of God and his Prophet; and all the Muſlemans that were with* Abubeker. Alwâkidi.

[3] Arab. *Sâhhibo Ryecha.* [4] Arab. *Raâito Râyan.*

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

me liked it, and approved it, and we don't uſe to be worſe than our Word.

There was a great Noiſe made on both ſides, and *Caled* would not abate an ace. The hungry Arabs that were with him were eager to fall on, and thirſted after Blood and Plunder. The poor Inhabitants were now in a very calamitous Condition, for every Man of them had been murdered, or made a Slave, if *Abu Obeidah* had not ſtood their Friend; who ſeeing the *Arabs* fall on, killing ſome and taking others Priſoners, was extremely concerned, and called out in a Paſſion; [6] *By God, my Word is looked upon as nothing, the Covenant which I make is broken.* Then he turned his Horſe, and rode about among the Soldiers, and ſaid, *I adjure you by the Apoſtle of God, that you meddle with none of them, till you ſee how* Caled *and I can adjuſt this Matter.* With much ado he made them forbear; then the chief Officers came to them, and they all went together into the Church, to debate this Affair. Several of them enclined to the more merciful ſide, for which they gave this very ſubſtantial Reaſon, *viz, That there were a*

[6] Arab. *Wallah*, an Oath frequently uſed by the *Arabs*, who do not account it any Profanation of the Divine Name, to ſwear by it; but rather an Acknowledgment of his Omnipotence and Omnipreſence; and therefore we find it uſed by the moſt religious among them.

great

great many Cities ſtill to be taken, and if it ſhould once be reported about the Country, that the Saracens *had broke their Promiſe, after they had given Security; they muſt never expect to have any other Place ſurrender, but make the moſt obſtinate Defence imaginable.* At laſt ſome adviſed, that *Caled* ſhould have the Diſpoſal of that part of the Town which he had taken by the Sword, and *Abu Obeidah* of that which he had taken upon Articles; at leaſt till ſuch time as they could appeal to the *Caliph*, and be determined by his Sentence. This was ſo reaſonable a Propoſal, that *Caled* could not refuſe it; ſo at laſt he conſented that the People ſhould have their Protection, but would give no Quarter to *Thomas* and *Herbîs*, nor any of their Soldiers. *Abu Obeidah* told him, that they were all included, and begged of him not to make any further Diſturbance about it. Abubeker. Alwâkidi.

And now we have ſeen *Damaſcus*, the moſt noble and ancient City of *Syria*, taken by the *Saracens*; we muſt leave the Conquerors in Poſſeſſion, and the miſerable Inhabitants in their deplorable Circumſtances, and take a View of Affairs at *Medinah*. [1] *Abubeker* the Caliph died the ſame Day that *Damaſcus* was taken [2], which was on *Friday* the twenty-third of *Auguſt*, in the

[1] *Alwâkidi.* [2] *Elmakîn.*

Abubeker. Alwâkidi.

Year of our Lord ſix hundred and thirty-four; and of the *Hegirah* the thirteenth [3]. There are various Reports concerning his Death: Some ſay, that he was poiſoned by the *Jews*, eating Rice with *Hareth Ebn Caldah*, and that they both died of it within a Twelvemonth after [4]. But *Ayeſha* ſays, that he bathed himſelf upon a cold Day, which threw him into a Fever, of which he died within fifteen Days: All which time *Omar* ſaid Prayers publickly in his Place.

[5] When he perceived himſelf near his Departure, he called his Secretary, and gave him Directions to write as follows.

In the Name of the moſt merciful God.

"This is the Teſtament of *Abubeker Ebn Abi* " *Kohâpha*, which he made at that time when " he was juſt a going out of this World, and en- " tering into the other. *A time in which the Infi- " del ſhall believe, and the wicked Perſon ſhall be " aſſured, and the Liar ſhall ſpeak Truth. I appoint " *Omar Ebno'l Chitâb* my Succeſſor over you; " therefore hearken to him, and obey him. If he

[3] *Abu'lpheda.* [4] *Ahmed Ebn Mohammed Ebn Abdi Rabbihi & Abu'lpheda.*

[5] Author of the Hiſtory of the Holy Land, M. S. Arab. *Pocock.* Num. 362.

* That is, the Infidel and Wicked ſhall then be aſſured of the Reality of thoſe Things relating to a future State which they diſbelieved and ridiculed in their Lifetime.

" does

" does that which is right and juſt, 'tis what I " think and know of him. If he does otherwiſe, " every Man muſt be rewarded according to his " Works. I intend to do for the beſt, but I " don't know hidden Things: But thoſe who do " Evil ſhall find the Conſequences of it. Fare " ye well, and the Mercy and Bleſſing of God " be upon you." Abubeker. Alwâkidi.

When he deſigned to make *Omar* his Succeſſor, *Omar* deſired to be excuſed, and ſaid, he had no need of that Place. To which *Abubeker* anſwered, that the Place had need of him, and ſo appointed him Caliph againſt his Will. Then he gave him ſuch Inſtructions as he thought proper; and when *Omar* was gone out of his Preſence, he lifted up his Hand, and ſaid, *O God! I intend nothing by this but the People's Good, and I fear leſt there ſhould be any Difference among them; and I have ſet over them the beſt Man among them. They are thy Servants; unite them with thy Hand, and make their Affairs proſperous, and make him a good Governour; and ſpread abroad the Doctrine of the Prophet of Mercy, and make his Followers good Men.*

Elmakin ſays, that he was the firſt that gathered together the ſcattered Chapters of the Alcoran, and digeſted it into one Volume. For in *Mahomet's* Time they were only in looſe and diſperſed Writings. But when in the War which

 36504 they

Abubeker. Alwákidi.

they had with *Moſeilamah*, of which we have already given an Account, a great many of thoſe who could read and repeat the Alcoran were killed: *Abubeker* was afraid leſt any part of it ſhould be loſt; and gathered together what was extant in Writing, or what any of the Muſlemans could repeat, and making one Volume of it, called it *Muſ-haph*; which in the Arabick Tongue ſignifies a *Book* or *Volume* [6]. This Book was committed to the Cuſtody of *Haphſah*, *Omar*'s Daughter, and one of *Mahomet*'s Wives. But *Joannes Andreas*, who was himſelf a Moor by Birth, and *Alfaqui* or chief Doctor of the Muſlemans in *Sciatinia*, in the Kingdom of *Valencia* in *Spain*, and afterwards converted to the Chriſtian Religion in the Year of our Lord 1487. ſays, that this was not done till the time of *Othman*, the third Caliph after *Mahomet*. *Eutychius* in his Annals ſays the ſame. I believe them both to be miſtaken, becauſe I find in [7]*Abu'lpheda*, that when *Othman* came to be Caliph, he obſerving the Variety of different Readings which were ſpread abroad, copied this Book which had been delivered to *Haphſah*, and aboliſhed and deſtroy'd all other Copies which had different Readings from this; obliging all the *Mahometans* to receive this Copy as the only authentick Alcoran. Which Action of his, I am fully perſuaded, gave occa-

[6] *Abu'lpheda.* [7] *Kitâb Almoctaſer phi Abbâri'l baſhar.*

ſion

ſion to ſome to report, that *Othman* was the firſt that gathered the Chapters of it into one Volume; a Piece of Work of that Importance, that it can ſcarcely be believed to have eſcaped the Zeal and Diligence of *Abubeker* and *Omar*. Abubeker. Alwákidi.

[s] As to the Character of this Caliph; he was a tall, lean Man, of a ruddy Complexion, and a thin Beard, which he uſed to tinge with ſuch Colours as are frequently uſed in the Eaſtern Countries, to make it look more graceful. He never ſaved any Money in the publick Treaſury; but every *Friday* at Night, diſtributed what there was among Perſons of Merit; to the Soldiers firſt; and after them, to thoſe that were any other way deſerving. His Chaſtity, Temperance, and Neglect of the Things of this Life, were exemplary. He deſired *Ayeſha* to take an Account of all that he had gotten ſince he was Caliph, and diſtribute it among the Muſlemans; being reſolved not to be enriched by his Preferment, but ſerve the Publick *gratis*; only he took three *Drachmæ* (a Piece of gold in uſe among the *Arabs* at that time; the true Value of which is now unknown to us) out of the publick Treaſury, as a Reward of his Service. His whole Inventory amounted to the Value of no more than five of thoſe *Drachmæ*; which when *Omar* heard, he ſaid, That *Abubeker* had left his Succeſſor a hard Pattern.

[s] *Elmakin.*

Abubeker. Alwâkidi.

'Tis uſual with ſome Authors, when they give Characters of great Men, to mention ſome of their Sentences, or wiſe Sayings. The *Arabs* have not been deficient in this Particular. *Niſaburienſis*, (called ſo from *Niſabour*, the Metropolis of *Choraſan*; as it is moſt common for *Arabick* Authors to be diſtinguiſhed by the Place of their Birth as much as by their Names) has collected in a little Book the grave and witty Sayings of *Mahomet* and his Succeſſors, and ſome of the Kings of *Perſia*. Among ſome others which he has recorded of *Abubeker*, there are theſe two very remarkable ones; [9] *Good Actions are a Guard againſt the Blows of Adverſity*. And this; *Death is the eaſieſt* (or leaſt conſiderable) *of all things after it, and the hardeſt of all things before it.*

He was ſixty-three Years old when he died; having reigned two (Lunar) Years, three Months and nine Days.

Niſabûri, M. S. Arab. *Pocock.* Num. 62.

Omar

Omar Ebno'l Chitâb,

The Second Caliph after MAHOMET.

ABUBEKER having taken care of the Succeſſion by his laſt Teſtament, all that Diſturbance was prevented, which happened before upon the Death of *Mahomet*. I do not find in any Author, that *Ali* or his Party made any Oppoſition; but the ſame Day that *Abubeker* died, *Omar* was inveſted with the Regal and Pontificial Dignity, and ſaluted by univerſal Conſent, [1] *The Caliph of the Caliph of the Apoſtle of God*; that is, *The Succeſſor of the Succeſſor of* Mahomet. But when they conſidered, that this Title was ſomething too long; and that at the coming on of every new Caliph, it would grow longer ſtill, they invented another, which ſhould ſerve for all the Caliphs to come; and that was, *Amiro'l Mumenina*; *Imperator Credentium, Emperor of the Believers*. Which afterwards was uſed to the ſucceeding Caliphs; *Omar* being the firſt that was ever called by that Title.

Being thus confirmed in his new Dignity, he goes into the Pulpit, to make a Speech to the People. He did not ſay much; but the Subſtance of it was; "That he ſhould not have

[1] *Elmakin.*

"taken

Omar. " taken ſuch a troubleſome Charge upon him-
" ſelf, had it not been for the good Opinion that
" he had of them, and the great Hopes which
" he had conceived of their Perſeverance in their
" Duty, and doing that which was commend-
" able and Praiſe-worthy." Thus the Ceremony being over, which in the Infancy of that Government, whilſt they had not yet attained that Grandeur which their Succeſſors afterwards arrived at, was not very great; every Man went home very well ſatisfied.

Omar having taken upon him the Government, was deſirous of nothing more than to make ſome Conqueſts in *Irâk*; and in order to this, ſends *Abu Obeid* with an Army, joining to him *Almothanna*, *Amrou*, and *Salit*, who marched with their Forces till they came to *Thaalabiyah*, where they pitched their Tents juſt by the River. *Salit*, conſidering all things well; and juſtly fearing that the Forces of the *Perſians* were too great for them to encounter withal, did what he could to perſuade *Abu Obeid* not to croſs the River; telling him, that ſince the *Perſians* were apparently too ſtrong for them, it would be more adviſeable to reſerve themſelves for a fairer Opportunity, and retire into the Deſerts, and there ſecure themſelves as well as they could, till they had ſent to the Caliph for freſh Supplies. But *Abu Obeid* was ſo far from being perſuaded by what he

he ſaid, that he called him Coward. *Mothanna* took him up, and told him, that what *Salit* had ſaid was not the Effect of Cowardice, but that he had told him what he thought the beſt way; adding, that he was alſo of the ſame Opinion himſelf, and bad him have a care how he paſſed over to the Enemies, for fear he ſhould bring himſelf and thoſe that were with him, into ſuch Danger as he could not bring them out of again. But *Abu Obeid* deaf to all good Counſel, and impatient of Delay, forthwith commands a Bridge to be made, and marches over his Army. *Salit* and *Mothanna*, though they did not at all approve of his Conduct, yet having ſpoke, what they thought to no purpoſe, went over after him. The Soldiers followed him with an heavy Heart, grieved at the Raſhneſs of their General, which they had juſt reaſon to fear would prove fatal to them. Omar.

As ſoon as they were got over the Bridge, *Abu Obeid* put his Men in Battle-array, as well as the Shortneſs of the time would permit; for the *Perſian* Archers lay very hard at him, and wounded the Muſlemans grievouſly. However *Abu Obeid* having got ſome part of his Army in tolerable Order, charged the *Perſians* ſo furiouſly, that they could no longer keep their Ground, but ran away. *Abu Obeid* purſued, as being now aſſured of the Victory; but the *Perſians* rallying again,

Omar. again, and renewing their Charge, killed *Abu Obeid*, and routed the Muſlemans. Thoſe that remained of them made up to the Bridge; *Mothanna* all the while behaving himſelf like an experienced Captain, fought in the Rear, and brought them off with as little Loſs as could be expected. At laſt they got over the Bridge, and *Mothanna* after them; who was no ſooner over, but he ordered the Bridge to be cut down, to prevent the Purſuit of the *Perſians*.

Mothanna having now ſecured himſelf, ſent the Caliph an account of the whole Matter; and having acquainted him with *Abu Obeid*'s Raſhneſs in paſſing the River with ſo ſmall a Number, contrary to the Judgment of all the Officers, together with the Succeſs which had followed ſo unadviſed an Undertaking, ſtaid expecting further Orders. The Caliph commanded him to ſecure himſelf in his Camp as well as he could, and not ſtir till he ſhould receive the Supplies which he would take care to raiſe for him with all poſſible Expedition. *Mothanna* obeys the Order; in the mean time the Caliph ſends ſpecial Meſſengers to the Tribes of the *Arabs*, to raiſe Men for the Service, which they ſpeedily performed. The new-raiſed Soldiers were muſtered at *Medinah*, and *Jarîr Ebn Abd'ollâh* was appointed their General, and ſent with Orders to join *Mothanna* and the reſt of the Forces,

Forces, and, as Opportunity ſhould ſerve, give Battle to the *Perſians*. *Jarîr* being come to *Thaalabiyah*, where the reſt of the Army was, they marched to *Dir Hind*, where they encamped, and made frequent Excurſions, plundering and deſtroying that Part of *Irâk*, which lies next the River *Euphrates*. *Arzemidocht*, Queen of the *Perſians*, perceiving the great Damage which ſhe every Day received from the *Arabian* Army, thought it high time to look about her, and out of all the Cavalry, choſe twelve thouſand of the beſt Horſe, and appointing *Mahran* General of them, ſent them to repreſs the Inſolencies and Outrages of the *Arabs*. They marched till they came to *Hirah*; where the *Arabians*, having called back thoſe Troops which were gone to forage, met them. Both Armies were immediately joined. *Mothanna* fought amongſt the thickeſt of the *Perſians*, and was gotten into the midſt of their Army, but bravely recovered himſelf, and returned to his own Men. The *Perſians* behaved themſelves ſo well, that ſome of the *Arabs* gave Ground. *Mothanna* perceiving his *Arabs* flinch, tore his Beard; labouring as much as in him lay, to ſtay the Flight of his Men, and reſtore the Battle, which he did in a great meaſure: And then began a moſt furious Engagement, which laſted from Noon till Sunſet, neither Party giving way, or retreating. It

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is hard to gueſs which Side would have prevailed, had not the Death of *Mahran* determined it; for *Mothanna* meeting him in the Battle, they fought Hand to Hand. *Mahran* ſtruck at *Mothanna*, but his Sword did not pierce his Armour: Then immediately *Mothanna* gave him ſuch a Blow upon his Shoulder, that he fell down dead. The *Perſians* having loſt their General, were quite diſheartened, quitted the Field, and fled to *Madayen*. The *Arabs* contented with their Victory, did not purſue them far, but returned to cure their wounded Men, and bury their Dead.

The *Perſian* Nobility perceiving the Saracens every way too hard for them, and that they had now made themſelves Maſters of the Borders of their Country, and were very likely to get more, began to be very uneaſy, and laid all the Blame upon their Queen, *Arzemidocht*. 'Tis very common in thoſe Eaſtern Countries to meaſure things by the Succeſs; and if things go ill, neither the Grand Signior himſelf, nor the Sultan of *Perſia*, nor the Emperor of the *Moguls*, can be ſecured from the Murmurs, and oftentimes Mutinies of their Subjects; who, though things be managed with all the Care and Circumſpection that Human Capacity can be Maſter of, yet if the Succeſs does not anſwer their Expectation never fail to complain of Male-adminiſtration,

and

and repreſent their Princes as Perſons unfit for Government, either for want of Abilities, or elſe becauſe they look upon them to be *unlucky* and *unfortunate*, in which Matter the Eaſtern Nations are extremely ſuperſtitious. This the Queen experienced; for after this Battle was loſt, and things went ill on all ſides, the next thing they ſaid, was, *This we get by ſuffering a Woman to rule over us*; as if all their Misfortunes had been owing to her Miſmanagement; or, as if they might not have met with the ſame ill Succeſs, under the Government of the wiſeſt Prince in the World. However they conſidered nothing of this, but reſolved to depoſe the poor Queen: Which they did, and placed *Yazdejerd* upon the Throne in her ſtead, who was a young Man of the Royal Family, deſcended from *Coſroes* the Son of *Hormiſdas*. But they did not much mend the Matter, for the Government of this new King of theirs was more inauſpicious than that of the Queen could be; for in her Reign, the Confines of the Empire were only invaded, but in his, all was entirely loſt, and the whole Kingdom and Country of the *Perſians* fell into the Hands of the Muſlemans. Omar.

Yazdejerd being King, forthwith raiſed an Army out of the ſeveral Provinces of his Kingdom, and made *Ruſtam* their General, who was deſcended of a noble Family, and had Years

and

Omar. and Experience ſufficient to recommend him to ſuch a Poſt. *Yazdejerd* gave him Orders to march to *Hirah*, where the *Arabs* lay; and at the ſame time ſent another great Army, under the Command of *Alharzaman*, a *Perſian* Nobleman, to *Ehwàs*, where *Abu Muſa Alaſhari*, another of *Omar*'s Captains, lay foraging and ſpoiling the Country. But all to no purpoſe: The *Perſians*, as if the Period of their Empire was at hand, could have no Succeſs, but were forced to ſubmit to the riſing Greatneſs of the Saracenical Empire. Both theſe *Perſian* Generals were killed, and both the Armies entirely routed and defeated.

Abu'lpharagius, from whom I have taken this Account of the Tranſactions relating to *Perſia*, is miſtaken two Years, as to the time in which they were done; for he places them at the Beginning of *Omar*'s Reign, which, as we have ſhewn before, was in the Year of our Lord ſix hundred and thirty-four. Now it is very well known that the *Perſian* Æra (which they uſe to this Day) bears Date from the Beginning of that Year, in which this ſame *Yazdejerd*, the laſt of the *Perſian* Kings, came to the Crown; which was, [a] as is confeſſed on all Hands, the 16th Day of *June*, in the Year of our Lord ſix hundred and thirty-two. However, ſince *Abu'lpharagius* has placed theſe Actions in *Omar*'s

[a] *Golius*'s Notes upon *Alfarganus*, p. 30. *Gravii Epochæ Celebriores.*

Life,

Life, I have contented myſelf with giving the Reader this Hint, and followed that Author in this Particular; eſpecially, becauſe I could not find any Place ſo proper for the interrupting the Hiſtory of *Syria*, as the Taking of *Damaſcus*, and the Death of *Abubeker*; both which happening at the ſame time, (according to *Alwâkidi*, who differs in that Particular from other Authors) made a ſort of a Period, and gave me a fair Opportunity of inſerting whatever was done by the Saracens in any other Country within that Compaſs of time. Omar.

And now the Series of our Hiſtory requires us to return to the *Damaſcens*, whom we left juſt at that time when *Abu Obeidah* had with great Intreaty ſcarcely prevailed with *Caled* to ratify the Articles which he had made with the Beſieged. Having obtained it at laſt with much ado, he told them, that they were at their Liberty to go where they pleaſed; but when they were out of the Bounds of that Part of the Country, which was taken by the Muſlemans, they were alſo out of their Protection, and free from any Article or Agreement whatſoever. The Chriſtians not content with this, deſired their Protection for the ſpace of three Days, which way ſoever they went, and that none of the Saracens ſhould purſue them during that time; after which they muſt be content to take their For- Alwâkidi.

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tune. To which Propoſal *Caled* conſented, but told them withal, that they ſhould carry nothing with them out of the City, but Proviſion; which provoked *Abu Obeidah* afreſh, who anſwered, that to uſe them ſo, would ſtill be a Breach of Promiſe, he having engaged to give them leave to go out with Bag and Baggage. *Then,* (ſaid *Caled*) *if they have that, they ſhall have no Arms.* To which *Herbîs* anſwered, that they muſt have Arms, it being impoſſible for them to travel ſafely without. *Abu Obeidah* ſaid, *Then let every one of them have ſomething; he that has a Lance ſhall have no Sword, and he that takes a Bow ſhall have no Lance;* With which they were pretty well contented. *Thomas* and *Herbîs* were the Captains of this unhappy Caravan, who had now loſt all but what they could carry away; and inſtead of lofty and ſtately Palaces, pleaſant Gardens and delicious Fare, muſt be glad to ſhift about where they can, and expoſe themſelves to all the Difficulties and Hazards of a tedious Journey, without any Regard had to Age, Sex or Degree. The tender and delicate Lady that once ſcarce knew how to ſet her Foot upon the Ground, muſt now be forced to go through inhoſpitable Deſerts and craggy Mountains, deprived not only of her Superfluities, but of all the Conveniencies, and even the very Neceſſaries of Life. *Thomas* pitched a Tent on the Out-ſide

of

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of the City, and ordered his Men to bring the beſt of the things, the Plate, Jewels, Silk, and the like, into it, in order to pack them up, and carry them away. The Emperor *Heraclius* had then in *Damaſcus* a Wardrobe, in which there were above three hundred Loads of dyed Silks and Cloath of Gold, which were all pack'd up. The poor miſerable Wretches took every one what they could any way carry, of the beſt things they had, and made all poſſible Haſte to be gone. *Damaſcus*, once their Joy and Delight, could now no more be thought on without Regret. The Emperor *Heraclius*'s Daughter went out among the reſt, which followed *Thomas* and *Herbîs*. *Derar* (who was vexed at the Heart becauſe *Abu Obeidah* had let them come off ſo well) ſtood by as they went out, and gnaſhed his Teeth for Spite and Indignation. The Princeſs thought that the Reaſon of his Anger was becauſe of the Spoil, and ſaid to him as ſhe paſſed by, *What's the Reaſon*, Derar, *that you mutter thus? Don't you know that* [3] *with God there are more and better things than theſe are?* *Derar* ſwore, *that it was not the Plunder that he valued; but what vexed him was the People's eſcaping, and not being all-murdered*; adding, that *Abu Obeidah* had done a great Injury to the Muſlemans, in giving them Quarter. *Athi Ebn Ammâr* hearing him

[3] Arab. *Ind'allah.*

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ſay ſo, anſwered, *That* Abu Obeidah *had done for the beſt, in preventing the Effuſion of the Blood of the Muſlemans, (the moſt ſacred thing under the Sun) and giving them Reſt from their Labours. Beſides, God has made the Hearts of the true Believers the Seat of Mercy, and thoſe of the Infidels the Seat of Cruelty: And God has ſaid in ſome of the inſpired Books, that he was moſt merciful; and that he would not ſhew Mercy, but only to the merciful.* Then he quoted a Paſſage in the *Alcoran*, to prove to him that [4] *Agreement* was *better*. *Derar* told him, that he talked like an honeſt Man, but he ſwore, that for his part *he would never have Mercy upon any, that ſaid that God had a Son, and joined a Partner with God.* *Thomas* and *Herbîs* paid *Abu Obeidah* what they had bargained with him for, as the Redemption of their Lives and Liberties; and then thoſe of them who choſe to ſtay behind, and be Tributaries, ſtaid; the reſt, which were by far the greater Number, went away: Whom we muſt leave upon their March a while, and prepare our Ears for a very remarkable Relation.

Caled, O bloody and inſatiable Saracen! ſaw theſe poor Wretches carry away the ſmall Remainder of their plentiful Fortunes, with a great deal of Regret: So mortally did he hate the

[4] *Alcoran.* Chap. IV. 27. *Aſſúlhho Chairon.*

Chriſtians,

Chriſtians, that to ſee any of them alive, was Death to him. What does he do? Why! he orders his Men to keep themſelves and their Horſes well; and told them, that after the three Days were expired, (for they had Security for that time) he deſigned to purſue them; and ſaid, that his Mind gave him, that they ſhould ſtill overtake them, and have all the Plunder: For, ſays he, they have left nothing valuable behind them, but have taken all the beſt of their Cloaths, and Plate and Jewels, and whatever is worth carrying along with them. Having thus prepared for his Journey, there happened another Controverſy between him and the Townſmen that ſtaid behind, concerning a great Quantity of Wheat and Barley. The Townſmen which had ſurrendered to *Abu Obeidah*, ſaid, that it belonged to them; *Caled* ſaid, that it was his, (and indeed ſo was every thing elſe of the Chriſtians that he could lay his Hands upon.) *Abu Obeidah*, who was always more courteous to the Chriſtians than could have been expected from a Saracen, took the Citizens Part. The Contention grew ſo high, that they had like once more to have fallen together by the Ears, till at laſt they determined to write to *Abubeker* about it, not having yet received the News of his Death. This Diſturbance detained *Caled* from purſuing the poor *Damaſcens*; for there were now four

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Days and as many Nights paſſed ſince they went away, and there were but little Hopes of overtaking them; for he was well aſſured, that aſſoon as poſſibly they could they would ſecure themſelves in ſome walled Town; ſo that he had quite laid aſide the Thoughts of following them, had it not been for a very unfortunate Circumſtance, which was thus:

The Reader may be pleaſed to remember, that *Derar Ben Alazwâr*, during the Siege, had two thouſand Men given him to ride round about, and ſurvey the Camp, leſt they ſhould be ſurprized, either by any Succours from the Emperor, or Sallies from the Town. It chanced one Night, as ſome of theſe Men were upon Duty, they heard a Horſe neigh, which came out of the Gate *Keiſân*. They ſtood ſtill, and let him alone till he came up cloſe to them, and took his Rider Priſoner. Immediately after, there came another Horſeman out of the ſame Gate; who called the Man, that was taken Priſoner, by his Name. The Saracens bad him anſwer him, that he might come up, and they might take him too. But inſtead of that, he ſpoke out aloud in Greek, *The Bird is taken*. The Perſon he ſpoke to underſtood his Meaning very well, and returned back into the City. The Saracens could not tell what he ſaid; only they knew that they had loſt another Priſoner by his means: Upon which they had like

to

to have killed him, but upon better Conſideration they reſolved to carry him to the General *Caled*, that he might diſpoſe of him as he pleaſed. *Caled* aſked him, what he was? *I am*, ſaid he, *a Nobleman, and I married a young Lady, which I loved as my Life; and when I ſent for her home, her Parents gave a ſlight Anſwer, and ſaid, That they had ſomething elſe to do. Wherefore I took a convenient Opportunity of ſpeaking with her, and we agreed to come out in the Evening, and give a good round Sum of Money to him that was upon the Guard that Night. I coming out firſt, was ſurprized by your Men, and to prevent her falling into your Hands, I called out,* The Bird is taken, *She apprehending my Meaning, went back with the two Servants that were with her; and who can blame me! Well,* ſaid *Caled, and what have you to ſay to the Mahometan Religion? If you like that, when we take the City, you ſhall have your Wife: If not, you are a dead Man.* The poor Wretch being ſurprized, and not having Faith enough to die a Martyr, renounced his Chriſtianity, and made Confeſſion of his Mahometaniſm in theſe Words; *I teſtify, That there is but one God; he has no Partner; and* Mahomet *is the Apoſtle of God.* Then he was entirely theirs, and uſed to fight among them valiantly. When the City was ſurrendered, he went with all ſpeed to find his Beloved.

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Upon Enquiry, he received Information, that ſhe had ſhut her ſelf up in a Nunnery; which was true enough. For ſhe never expected to ſee him more, after he was once fallen into the Hands of the *Saracens*; and ſince all her Joy and Delight in this World was gone, ſhe reſolved to ſpend the reſt of her Days in the Contemplation of a better. He goes to the Church where ſhe was, expecting to be received with abundance of Joy; in which he was very much deceived: For when he had aſked her the Reaſon why ſhe turned Nun; and ſhe had told him; he no ſooner made himſelf known, and acquainted her with the Change of his Religion, but ſhe treated him with the utmoſt Contempt and Averſion, worthily thinking that he ought himſelf to be renounced by her, who had firſt renounced his Chriſtianity; nor would the Remembrance of former Love, nor the Conſideration of that Extremity who had obliged him to it, move her, nor beget in her one charitable Thought towards him; but ſhe ſtill continued firm in her Reſolution to bid adieu to all the Enjoyments of this preſent Life, and never converſe with him any more. Wherefore, when *Thomas* and *Herbîs*, attended with the reſt of the miſerable *Damaſcens*, went away, ſhe went along with them. Her Departure wounded her Huſband (*Jonas*) to the Heart: He was very inſtant

inſtant with *Caled* to detain her by Force; who anſwered, *That ſince they had ſurrendered themſelves, it could not be done; but they muſt all of them have free Liberty to go where they pleaſed.* Here then is the main Spring of this Action. As ſoon as *Jonas* underſtood that *Caled* had a Deſign of purſuing the *Damaſcens*, he was very forward, and teazed him to go, and proffered his Service to be their Guide. But, as we have ſaid before, *Caled*, who was willing to purſue them after three Days were expired, being obliged to ſtay longer upon the account of the Controverſy concerning the Corn, thought four Days too much Advantage on their ſide, and had infallibly laid aſide the Thoughts of it, if it had not been for the inceſſant Importunity of this damn'd Apoſtate, who was reſolved to gratify his own Humour, though it were by betraying into the Hands of mercileſs and unrelenting Saracens, Thouſands of his innocent Countrymen, Women, and Children, who had already laboured under the Calamities and Diſtreſſes of a conſuming War. However nothing would ſatisfy him but this Woman; and when *Caled* told him they were too far gone, he never ceaſed ſpurring him forwards, telling him, *That he knew all the Country, and how to follow them the neareſt way; and whatever elſe he could think on to encourage the Undertaking.* *Caled*, who was not

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not backwards of himſelf to go about any thing that afforded the leaſt proſpect of Succeſs, yielded to his Importunity, and ſo the Journey was concluded upon.

Caled choſe out four thouſand of the beſt Horſe, which *Jonas* ordered to be cloathed in the Habit of Chriſtian *Arabs*; that, being to travel in the Enemies Country, they might paſs unſuſpected. Then, committing the Care of the Town and Army to *Abu Obeidah*, they departed. It was no hard Matter to follow ſuch a great Multitude of People as went out of *Damaſcus*; for beſides that the Footſteps of their Mules were viſible enough, they ſcattered things enough in their haſty Flight, to direct thoſe who came after which way to purſue. The Saracens kept riding Night and Day, and never ſtood ſtill, but only in Prayer-time. For a long time together they could trace them very plainly; but at laſt there appeared no Footſteps at all, nor any Signs by which they might make any Gueſs which way they were gone. *What's the News now?* ſaid *Caled* to *Jonas*. *Oh*, ſays he, *they are turn'd out of the great Road, for fear of being purſu'd: You are in a manner as ſure of them, as if you had already taken them.* So he turns them out of the high Road, and leads them among the Mountains, where it was very bad travelling. The Way was ſo extreamly rough

rough and uneven, that they could not ride without the greateſt Hazard. The Horſes ſtruck Fire at every ſtep, they beat off their Shoes, and battered their Hoofs to Pieces, that it was almoſt impoſſible for them to travel. They were forced to alight from their Horſes, and then they could ſcarce get forwards on Foot, and thoſe who had ſtrong Boots on, well ſoaled with Iron, had the Soals torn off from the Upper-Leathers. The Saracens who had been uſed to a great many Hardſhips, began to be extremely uneaſy, and wiſhed themſelves again in the right Road. In ſhort, every Man was heartily tired, but the indefatigable Lover. *Caled* himſelf could not tell what to think on't; but complained to *Jonas*, and told him, that it was all his doing. At laſt they perceived a great many Footſteps, which made them imagine that the People were gone before them. The Guide told *Caled*, that he was ſure they could not be far before, becauſe the Dung of their Horſes was not yet dry. Upon this *Caled* called to his Men, to mend their Pace; but they told him, they were quite tired and worn out, and muſt of neceſſity ſtay and bait a while before they went any further. When they had refreſhed their Horſes, they kept going on; and wherever they paſſed, the Country People miſtook them for Chriſtian *Arabs*. The Guide brought them

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them to *Jabalah* and *Laodicea*; but they durſt not paſs through thoſe Towns, for fear of being diſcovered. *Jonas* at laſt enquired of a Country-man; who told them, that the Emperor hearing that the *Damaſcens* were upon their March towards *Antioch*, was fearful leſt by their coming, and giving a terrible Account of the Sharpneſs of the Siege, and the Courage of the Saracens, thoſe about him ſhould be diſheartened; and had therefore ſent an Expreſs to forbid their coming any nearer to *Antioch*, and commanded them to go to *Conſtantinople*. He told him alſo, that the Emperor was raiſing Forces to ſend to [8] *Yermouk*. When *Jonas* had received this Intelligence, he was at a Loſs, and could not tell what to do. *Caled* enquired of him what News? and he told him how it was, and that there was no hope of overtaking them; and beſides, that there was but one Mountain between them and that Place where the Emperor's Officers were raiſing Forces to ſend againſt them. As ſoon as *Caled* heard him mention the Forces, he turned as pale as Aſhes. *Derar*, who had never obſerved in him any Signs of Fear before in all his Lifetime, aſked him, what was the Matter? *Alas*, ſays he, *'tis not that I fear Death, or any thing that may befall my ſelf, but becauſe I am afraid*

[8] Sept. 1. 634.

leſt

leſt the Emperor's Forces ſhould get to Damaſcus, *and do our People ſome Miſchief in my Abſence; eſpecially remembring a Dream which I had not long ſince, and I cannot tell the Meaning of it.* One of the Men aſked him what it was? When he had told him, *Abdo'rrahmân*, Soldier like, interpreted it all in Favour of the Saracens. So they continued their March, and there fell abundance of Rain that Night, which put them to a great deal of Inconvenience, but the poor *Damaſcens* to much more. In the Morning, after a tedious March, the *Damaſcens* found a pleaſant Meadow, and the Sun ſhined comfortably upon them. Glad of this Opportunity, they ſat down to reſt their weary Limbs, and ſpread out their wet Cloaths to dry them. A great many of them, quite tired and fatigued, lay down to ſleep. Omar. Alwakidi.

In this Poſture the Saracens found them. As ſoon as *Caled* underſtood the Matter, he divided his four thouſand Men into four Regiments. The firſt was commanded by *Derar Ebn Alazwâr*; the ſecond by *Raphi Ebn Omeirah*; the third by *Abdo'rrahmân*, *Abubeker*'s Son. *Caled* himſelf brought up the fourth, having firſt charged the Officers, that they ſhould not make their Appearance all at once, but leave a little ſpace one between the other, which was a very proper way to ſtrike Terror into the *Damaſcens*; and was frequently uſed by the Saracens, both

in

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in their Field-Fights, and when they came to inveſt any Town. He bad them not begin till they ſaw him fall on firſt, and not touch any of the Plunder till the Fight was over. The ſight of the Meadow was ſo pleaſant and diverting, eſpecially after they had been ſo harraſs'd with that diſmal Journey thro' the Rocks and Mountains, that they had like to have forgot what they came about. There they ſaw the purling Streams, the fine Flowers, and unſpeakable Variety of rich Silks and all ſorts of Colours, curiouſly wrought, ſpread all over the Meadow; all which together afforded them a very entertaining Proſpect, extremely delightful and refreſhing. After a little Pauſe, *Caled* began the Attack, more like a Lion or a Tyger than a Man, and bad his Men fall upon the Enemies of God. The Chriſtians quickly knew who they were, but ſeeing but a few of them at firſt, deſpiſed the Smallneſs of the Number, and prepared to fight. *Thomas* and *Herbîs* encouraged their Men, and put them in as good Order as the time would permit. *Thomas* engaged *Caled* with five thouſand Men, and after a ſharp Diſpute was killed, and his Men routed. As ſoon as *Abdo'rrahmán* ſaw *Thomas* fall from his Horſe, he alighted, and cut off his Head, and put it upon the Point of the Standard of the Croſs, and ſaid, *Alas for you, you Grecian Dogs, here's your Maſter's Head.*

Whilſt

Whilſt they were thus engaged, it is no hard Matter to gueſs what was become of *Jonas*: He was engag'd too, but after a different manner, being among the Women, in Search of his Lady. *Raphi Ebn Omeirah* came up that way, and ſaw him and his Lady fighting; and at laſt he threw her violently againſt the Ground, and took her Priſoner. Whilſt *Raphi* was making up to them, the Women ſtood upon their Defence, and pelted him with Stones. At laſt a young Lady happen'd to hit his Horſe in the Forehead, and killed him. *Raphi* ran after her with his Sword drawn, and was juſt about ſtriking her Head off, but ſhe cry'd, *Quarter*; ſo he took her Priſoner. She was a Perſon of no leſs Dignity than the Emperor's Daughter, and *Thomas*'s Wife; a Princeſs of incomparable Features, richly dreſs'd, and had a great many Jewels about her Head. When *Raphi* had diſpos'd of this rich Priſoner, he came to the Place where *Jonas* was, and found him bath'd in Tears, and his Lady weltering in Blood. *Raphi* enquiring what was the Matter? *Jonas* wrung his Hands, and ſaid, *Alas for me, the moſt miſerable Man in the World! I came to this Woman, whom I loved above all things in this Life, and would fain have perſwaded her to return with me; but ſhe continuing obſtinate becauſe I had chang'd my Religion, and vowing ſhe would go*

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to Conſtantinople, *and there end her Days in a Nunnery, I reſolv'd if I could not perſwade her by fair Means, to make my ſelf Maſter of her by Force: So I threw her down, and took her Priſoner. When ſhe ſaw that ſhe was in my Power, ſhe ſat quietly a while, and ſecretly drawing out a Knife, ſtabb'd her ſelf in the Breaſt before I was aware, and fell down dead immediately.* *Raphi* hearing this lamentable Story, wept too, and ſaid, *God did not deſign that you ſhould live with her, and therefore has provided better for you. What's that?* ſaid *Jonas. I'll ſhow you*, anſwered *Raphi, a Priſoner I have taken, a Perſon of admirable Beauty, and richly dreſs'd, which I will preſent to you to recompenſe your Loſs.* When they came together, *Jonas* and the Princeſs talk'd together in *Greek*, and *Raphi* freely gave her to him.

In the mean time *Caled* was employed in the Search of *Herbîs*. At laſt he ſaw a huge tall Man richly dreſs'd, which he imagined at firſt to have been the ſame, and beat him down to the Ground with his Lance, ſaying, *Alas for thee*, Herbîs, *didſt thou think to eſcape me?* The Man could ſpeak *Arabick* well, and told him, that he was not *Herbîs*, but another; and if he would ſpare him, he would give him more than he was aware of. *No Quarter*, ſays *Caled, unleſs you direct me to* Herbîs, *that I may kill him*;

and

and if ſo, I ſhall let you go your way without any Ranſom. Well, ſays the Man, *I'll tell you; but make firſt a firm Agreement with me, that if I ſhew you where he is, you will let me go. Yes,* ſays *Caled, if he falls into my Hands. This is one of your Tricks,* ſaid the Chriſtian, *ſo you gave us Security and Protection, and then afterwards followed us to this Place, when we never expected any one ſhould have purſu'd us; and now you tell me, that if* Herbîs *falls into your Hands, you will let me go. I can tell you where he is, but how can I promiſe that?* At this *Caled* was angry, and ſaid, *Thou Chriſtian Dog! doſt thou accuſe us of Breach of Promiſe, who are the Companions of the Apoſtle of God? When we promiſe any thing, we are as good as our Word. We did not come out after you, till the fourth Day was expired.* The Chriſtian deſired him to get off from him, that he might ſhew him where *Herbîs* was; for *Caled,* when he had beaten him down, ſat upon him all the while. Then he look'd about, and ſhew'd him a Party of Horſe at a Diſtance, and told him, that *Herbîs* was among them. *Caled,* upon this, called a Saracen to him, and bad him take Care of the Chriſtian; and if *Herbîs* was among that Company, he ſhould let him go, but if he was caught in a Lye, he ſhould ſtrike his Head off. When *Caled* came thither, he alighted, and betook himſelf to his Sword and

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Target; and whilſt he was fighting among the thickeſt of the Chriſtians, *Herbîs* came behind him, and gave him ſuch a Blow, that he cleav'd his Helmet through to his Turbant, and with the Violence of the Stroak, his Sword fell out of his Hand. About this time, *Caled*'s Men came in timely to his Aſſiſtance, and fell upon the Chriſtians, and cut them all to Pieces. When they had now entirely ruin'd and deſtroy'd thoſe miſerable Creatures, which had eſcaped at the taking of *Damaſcus*, *Caled* called for the Man that had ſhewn him the way to *Hrrbîs*, and told him, that ſince he had perform'd what he had promis'd to them, they would do the ſame to him; only they were obliged to exhort and admoniſh him firſt: Wherefore he aſked him, whether he could find in his Heart to become *one of the Faſting and Praying People, the Followers of* Mahomet? Upon his refuſing to change his Religion, they diſmiſs'd him, and he took the Road towards *Conſtantinople*, being the only Perſon that the Saracens knew of, that eſcaped the being killed or taken Priſoner, of all that numerous Train that followed *Thomas* and *Herbîs* out of the Gates of *Damaſcus*.

Caled, when he came back, ask'd *Jonas* what was become of his Wife? who gave him an Account of that diſmal Story, which we have al-

already related. Hearing that the Princeſs was taken Priſoner, he commanded her to be brought into his Preſence; and when he beheld her excellent Beauty, comely Proportion and agreeable Mein, he turned away his Head, and ſaid, *Glory be to thee, O God! we praiſe thee, who createſt what thou pleaſeſt.* Then he told *Jonas*, that if the Emperor did not redeem her, he ſhould have her: *Jonas* accepted his Preſent very thankfully, and withal told him, that they were in a ſtreight narrow Place, and that it was high time to be marching; for they might be ſure that what they had done was noiſed about the Country, and it would not be long before they ſhould be purſued. Before they got back to *Damaſcus*, they ſaw a great Duſt behind them. Upon which *Caled* diſpatches a Scout, to enquire what was the Matter? Who quickly diſcover'd the Croſſes in the Colours, and brought him Word: But, contrary to the Expectation of the Saracens, there was no Hoſtility intended; only there came an old Man from among the Chriſtians, who being at his Requeſt conducted to the General, begg'd of him, in the Emperor's Name, to diſmiſs the Princeſs his Daughter. *Caled* having adviſ'd with *Jonas* about it, conſented to let her go; and ſaid to the Old Man, *Tell your Maſter that there will never be any Peace between him and me, till I*

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have gotten every Foot of Land he has; and tho' I have ſent him his Daughter now, I hope to have him inſtead of her one of theſe Days.

It was not long before they came to *Damaſcus*, where they were ſo much the more welcome, becauſe their long Abſence had made their Friends there deſpair of their Return. Old *Abu Obeidah* was ſurpriz'd at *Caled*'s Valour. *Caled*, reſerving a fifth part of the Spoils to be ſent to the Caliph, and put into the publick Treaſury, according to their Precept in the [1] *Alcoran*, diſtributed the reſt among the Soldiers. He gave *Jonas* a good round Sum to buy him a Wife withal: But *Jonas* anſwered him in a very melancholy Tone, that he would never entertain any ſuch Thoughts again in this World, but his next Wife ſhould be one of thoſe black-ey'd Women mention'd in the [2] *Alcoran*. He continued among the Saracens, and was ſerviceable to them; till at laſt at the Battle of *Yermouk*, he was ſhot in the Breaſt. Thus fell the Apoſtate. However my Author, for the Encouragement of new Proſelytes, (for more ſorts of People than one will lye for Religion) tells us, that after he was dead, he was ſeen in a Viſion by *Raphi Ebn Omeirah* very richly cloathed, and with gold Shoes upon his Feet,

[1] *Surato'l Anphâl.* Chap. VIII. 15. [2] Chap. LII. 19. LVI. 22.

walking

walking in a moſt beautiful verdant Meadow; and when *Raphi* aſked him what God had done for him? *Jonas* anſwered, that he had given him ſeventy young Women, ſo bright and beautiful, that if any one of them ſhould appear in this World, the Sun and Moon could not be ſeen for the Reſplendency of her Beauty. When *Caled* heard of this Viſion, he ſaid, *This it is to be a Martyr, happy is he that attains to it.* Omar. Alwâkidi.

Caled, not having yet receiv'd Advice of *Abubeker*'s Death, wrote a Letter to him, to acquaint him with the taking of *Damaſcus*, the Controverſy between him and *Abu Obeidah*, and the Recovery of the Spoil which the *Damaſcens* had carried away. The Meſſenger being come to *Medinah*, wondered to find *Omar* in *Abubeker*'s ſtead; and *Omar* finding the Letter directed to *Abubeker*, wonder'd the Saracens in *Syria* ſhould be ſtill ignorant of the Alteration in the Government, and told the Meſſenger, that he had written to *Abu Obeidah* about it, and given him the chief Command over the Muſlemans in *Syria*, and depoſed *Caled*, tho' he thought that *Abu Obeidah* was not fond of that Employ. The truth of it is, *Abu Obeidah* had received the Letter, but kept it private: for being a very modeſt Man, and one that had not the leaſt Spark of Ambition in him, he was very unwilling to take the Commiſſion out of *Caled*'s

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Hands: Wherefore he took no Notice of it to him, nor ſaid any thing to hinder his writing to the Caliph, after his Return from the Purſuit of the *Damaſcens*. *Omar* liked *Abu Obeidah* for his Piety, but had no Opinion at all of *Caled*. One Day as he was ſpeaking to the People from the Pulpit, (as it was uſual for the Caliphs then to talk about what concern'd the Publick, in a very familiar manner) he mention'd the taking away *Caled*'s Commiſſion, and conferring that Charge upon *Abu Obeidah*. A young Man that was preſent, took the Freedom of telling him, that he wonder'd he would deprive ſuch a Perſon as had been the Inſtrument of ſo good Succeſs to the Muſlemans; and that when *Abubeker* was moved by ſome about him to depoſe him, his Anſwer was, *That he would not lay aſide, nor ſheath that Sword, which God had drawn for the Aſſiſtance of the true Religion*: And withal told *Omar*, That if he did it, he muſt anſwer it to God. *Omar* made but very little Anſwer, but came down from the Pulpit, and conſider'd of it that Night. The next Day he came again, and told them, that ſince the Care and Charge of the Muſlemans was committed to him, he thought himſelf obliig'd to take the beſt Care of them he could, as one that muſt give an Account; and for that Reaſon was reſolv'd to diſpoſe of Places of Truſt to ſuch

ſuch as deſerv'd them, and not to ſuch as did not: That he would give the Command of the Army to *Abu Obeidah*, whom he knew to be a Man of a tender and gentle Diſpoſition, and one that would be kind to the Muſlemans: That he did not approve of *Caled*, becauſe he was prodigal and extravagant; adding, *I would not have your Enemies think that it is ever the better for them, becauſe I have depos'd a fierce Man, and put a mild one in his Place; for God will be with him, and aſſiſt and ſtrengthen him.* Then he came down from the Pulpit, and took a Sheet of Parchment, and wrote to *Abu Obeidah* a large Letter, full of good Advice. He told him, that he had given him the chief Command of the Army, and bad him not be too modeſt; and that he ſhould take care not to expoſe the Muſlemans to Danger, in hopes of getting Plunder. By which laſt Words he very plainly grated upon *Caled*'s following the *Damaſcens* into the Enemies Country. He charged him not to be deceived with this preſent World, and by that means to periſh, as a great many had done before him, and bad him look upon thoſe who had gone before, and aſſure himſelf, that he muſt follow them. Then he adds, *As for the Wheat and Barley, it belongs to the Muſlemans, and ſo does the Gold and Silver, but there muſt be a* [1] *fifth taken out of it. As for the*

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[1] *Alcoran*, Chap. VIII. 15.

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Controverſy between you and Caled, *concerning the City's being ſurrendered or taken by the Sword; it was ſurrendered. You muſt have it your way: You are Commander in chief, and have the Power of determining that Matter. If the Townſmen did ſurrender, upon Condition that they ſhould have the Wheat and Barley, let them have it. As for* Caled's *purſuing the* Damaſcens, *it was a raſh Undertaking; and if God had not been the more merciful, you had not come off ſo well. Then the taking the Emperor's Daughter, and letting her go unranſomed, was prodigally done. You might have had a large Sum of Money from her, which would have done a Kindneſs among the poor Muſlemans. Farewell,* &c.

Having ſeal'd it up, he call'd *Shaddâd Ebn Aus*, and ordered him, that as ſoon as he came to the Army, he ſhould, after the Letter was read, cauſe the Muſlemans to proclaim him *Caliph* in *Damaſcus*, and bad him be his Repreſentative. *Shaddâd Ben Aus* and *Amrou Ben Abi Wakkâs* made what haſte they could to *Damaſcus*, and came to *Caled*'s Tent, and paid their Reſpects, and told him how the Government was diſpos'd of, and that they had a Letter from the *Caliph*, which was to be read in the hearing of the Muſlemans. *Caled* did not like that very well, for he knew that *Omar* was not well affected towards him. They all wept when they heard

heard of *Abubeker*'s Death. *Caled* ſwore, *That tho' there was nothing upon the Earth dearer to him than* Abubeker; [1] *nor, that he had a greater Averſion to than to* Omar. *But ſince* Abubeker *was dead, and had appointed* Omar *his Succeſſor, he was very willing to ſubmit to God and to* Omar. Then the Letter was read, and the ſame day [2] being the firſt of *October*, in the Year of our Lord 634, *Shaddâd* was proclaim'd *Caliph* at *Damaſcus* in *Omar*'s ſtead. Upon this *Caled* reſigns his Commiſſion, and *Abu Obeidah* takes the whole Charge of the Army, and all the Affairs of the Muſſemans in *Syria* upon himſelf:

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[1] I am in great doubt, whether I have render'd theſe Words (*nor that he had a greater Averſion to than to* Omar) right, according to the Senſe of the Original; but being now at a great diſtance from the Manuſcript, I am forced to follow my foul Copy. [2] *Hegirah* 13. A. D. 634. I take the Liberty as to this Date to differ from my Manuſcript, which ſays, that *Shaddâd* was proclaim'd in *Damaſcus*, in the 14th Year of the *Hegirah*, which anſwers to the Year of our Lord 635. But all the Circumſtances make it plain that it could not be done ſo late. For *Abubeker* (according to *Elmakîn*) died the 23d of *Auguſt*, 634. and, according to *Alwâkidi*, *Damaſcus* was taken the ſame Night that *Abubeker* died. *Caled*'s Letter was ſent as ſoon as he return'd from purſuing the *Damaſcens*: and *Omar* wrote his Anſwer ſoon after. Wherefore *Shaddâd* could not be proclaim'd *Caliph*, on the third of *Shaabân*, in the 14th Year of the *Hegirah*, but it muſt be on the thirteenth, which anſwers to the firſt of our *October*, and ſuits exactly well with the Circumſtances of the Hiſtory.

Abu

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Abu Obeidah, was afraid that *Caled* would have taken Diſguſt at his Removal; and, (which is generally the Effect of want of Encouragement) have been remiſs in his Buſineſs; but he made the contrary appear ſufficiently, in that great Action perform'd at *Dair Abi'l Kodos*; or, *The Monaſtery of the Holy Father.*

Dair Abi'l Kodos lies between *Tripoli* and *Harran*. There lived in that Place a Prieſt eminent for his ſingular Learning, Piety and Auſterity of Life, to ſuch a Degree, that all ſorts of Perſons, Young and Old, Rich and Poor, uſed to frequent his Houſe, to aſk his Bleſſing, and receive his Inſtructions. There was no Perſon of what Rank or Quality ſoever, but thought themſelves happy if they had his Prayers; and when-ever any young Couple amongſt the Nobility and Perſons of the higheſt Rank were married, they were carryed to him to receive his Bleſſing. Every Eaſter there uſed to be a great Fair kept at his Houſe, where they ſold rich Silks and Sattins, Plate and Jewels, and coſtly Furniture of all ſorts. *Abu Obeidah*, now poſſeſſed of *Damaſcus*, was in doubt whether to go next. One while he had Thoughts of turning to *Jeruſalem*; another, to *Antioch*. Whilſt he was thus deliberating, a Chriſtian that was under the Saracens Protection, informed him of this great Fair, which was about

about thirty Miles diſtant from *Damaſcus*. When he underſtood that there never uſed to be any Guards at the Fair, the Hopes of an eaſy Conqueſt, and large Spoil, encouraged him to undertake it. He looked round about upon the Muſlemans, and aſked which of them would undertake to command the Forces he ſhould ſend upon this Expedition; and at the ſame time caſt his Eye upon *Caled*, but was aſhamed to command him, that had been his General ſo lately. *Caled* underſtood his Meaning; but his being laid aſide ſtuck a little in his Stomach, ſo that he would not proffer his Service. At laſt *Abdo'llah Ebn Jaafar* (whoſe Mother was, after his Father *Jaafar* was killed in the Wars, married to *Abubeker*) offered himſelf. *Abu Obeidah* accepted him cheerfully, and gave him a Standard and five hundred Horſe. There was never a Man among them but had been in ſeveral Battles. The Chriſtian who had firſt informed them of this Fair, was their Guide. And whilſt they ſtaid to reſt themſelves in their March, he went before to take a View of the Fair. When he came back, he brought a very diſcouraging Account; for there had never been ſuch a Fair ſeen before. He told them, that there was a moſt prodigious Number of People, Abundance of Clergy, Officers, Courtiers and Soldiers. The Occaſion of which was, that

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the

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the Prefect of *Tripoli* had marryed his Daughter to a great Man, and they had brought the young Lady to this reverend Prieſt, to receive the Communion at his Hands. He added, that taking them altogether, *Greeks*, *Armenians*, *Cophties*, *Jews*, and *Chriſtians*, there could be no fewer than ten thouſand People, beſides five thouſand Horſe, which were the Lady's Guard. *Abdo'llah* aſked his Friends what they thought of it? They told him, that it was the beſt way to go back again, and not to be acceſſary to their own Deſtruction. To which he anſwered, *That he was afraid, if he ſhould do ſo, God would be angry with him, and reckon him amongſt the Number of thoſe who are backward in his Service; and ſo he ſhould be miſerable. I am not* (ſaid he) *willing to go back before I fight; and if any one will help me, God reward him: If not, I ſhall not be angry with him.* The reſt of the Saracens hearing that, were aſhamed to flinch from him; and told him, he might do as he pleaſed, they were ready at his Command. *Now* (ſays *Abdo'llah* to the Guide) *come along with us, and you ſhall ſee what the Companions of the Apoſtle of God are able to perform. Not I,* anſwered the Guide, *go your ſelves; I have nothing to ſay to you. Abdo'llah* perſwaded him, with a great many good Words, to bear them Company till they came within ſight of the Fair.

Fair. Having conducted them as far as he thought fit, he bad them ſtay there, and lie cloſe till Morning. In the Morning they conſulted which way to attack them to the beſt Advantage. *Omar Ebn Rebiyah* thought it moſt adviſeable to ſtay till the People had opened their Wares, and the Fair was begun, and then fall upon them when they were all employed. This Advice of his was approved by all. *Abdo'llah* divided his Men into five Troops, and ordered them to charge in five different Places, and not regard the Spoil, nor taking Priſoners, but put all to the Sword. When they came near the Monaſtery, the Chriſtians ſtood as thick as poſſible. The Reverend Father had begun his Sermon, and they thronged on all ſides to hear him with a great deal of Attention. The young Lady was in the Houſe and her Guard ſtood round about it, with a great many of the Nobility and Officers richly cloathed. When *Abdo'llah* ſaw this Number of People, he was not in the leaſt diſcouraged, but turned himſelf about to the Saracens, and ſaid, *The Apoſtle of God has ſaid, That Paradiſe is under the Shadow of Swords; either we ſhall ſucceed, and then we ſhall have all the Plunder; or elſe die, and ſo the next way to Paradiſe.* The Words were no ſooner out of his Mouth, but he

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fell upon them, and made a bloody Slaughter. When the Chriſtians heard the Saracens make ſuch a Noiſe, and cry out, *Allàh Acbar*, they were amazed and confounded, imagining that the whole Saracen Army had come from *Damaſcus*, and fallen upon them; which put them at firſt into a moſt terrible Conſternation. But when they had taken time to conſider and look about themſelves a little, and ſaw that there was but an Handful of Men, they took Courage, and hemmed them in round on every ſide; ſo that *Abdo'llah* and his Party were [9] like a little Iſland in the midſt of the Ocean. As ſoon as *Abdo'llah Ebn Anîs* (the Reader is deſired to obſerve the Diſtinction of Names, for a great many of them are very much alike) perceived that *Abdo'llah Ebn Jaafar* was in ſo much Danger, he immediately turn'd his Horſe, and rather flew than rode to *Abu Obeidah*, who aſked him, what News? *Ebn Anîs* told him, that *Abdo'llah, and all the Muſlemans with him were in apparent Hazard of being loſt; and if they were not ſuccoured inſtantly, would infallibly be cut all to Pieces*. And now 'twas high time to look out for *Caled*; (none like him and

[9] *Arab.* Were like a white Spot in a Black Camel's Skin. A Camel being a Creature very frequent and very ſerviceable in the Eaſtern Countries, they often mention and allude to it in their Proverbs.

Derar

Derar in a Caſe of Extremity) ſo *Abu Obeidah* turned to him, and ſaid, *I beg of thee, for God's ſake, not to fail in this Exigency, but go and help thy Brethren the Muſlemans.* *Caled* ſwore, that if *Omar* had given the Command of the Army to a Child, he would have obeyed him; adding, *That he would not contradict him, but reſpected him as one that came into the Profeſſion of the Mahometan Religion before himſelf.* All that were preſent were wonderfully pleaſed with *Caled*'s modeſt Anſwer; which does indeed deſerve to be particularly taken notice of, eſpecially conſidering how lately he had been turned out of his Commiſſion. *Abu Obeidah* haſtened him, and he immediately put on his Armour. His Coat of Mail was that which he took from *Moſeilamah*, the falſe Prophet. Then he put on his Helmet, and over that a Cap, which he called the *Bleſſed Cap*; it having received *Mahomet*'s Benediction. Upon which he valued it more than all his Armour beſides, and uſed frequently to attribute his Security and Succeſs to it. His Men were inſtantly ready, and away they flew with all poſſible ſpeed: And if we conſider the Circumſtances, they had need make as much Haſte as they did; for that ſmall Number of Saracens which had made the firſt Attack, was quite drowned and overwhelmed in that great Multitude of Chriſtians, and there

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was ſcarce any of them but what had more Wounds than one. In ſhort, they were at their laſt Gaſp, and had nothing left to comfort them but Paradiſe. Fighting in this deſperate Condition, about Sun-ſet they ſaw the Duſt fly, and Horſemen coming full ſpeed, which did rather abate than add to their Courage; they imagining at firſt that they might be Chriſtians. At laſt *Caled* appear'd, fierce as a Lyon, with his Colours flying in his Hand, and made up to *Abdo'llah*, who with much ado had born up his Standard all this while, and was now quite ſpent. But as ſoon as they heard *Caled*'s Voice, and ſaw the Mahometan Banner, the ſinking, drooping Saracens, who were ſcarce able to hold their Swords, as if they had had new Blood and Spirits infuſed into them, took freſh Courage, and all together rent the Skies with *Allàh Acbar*. Then *Abdo'llah* charged the Guard, which was round the Monaſtery, on the one ſide; and *Derar Ebno'l Azwâr* on the other. The Prefect of *Tripoli* himſelf was engaged with *Derar*, and was too hard for him, got him down, and lay upon him; at which time *Derar* ſecretly drew a Knife, which he uſed to carry about him againſt ſuch Occaſions, and ſtabbed him. Then he mounted the Prefect's Horſe, and cried out, *Allàh Acbar*. Whilſt *Derar* was engaged with the Prefect, *Abdo'llah*

Ebn

Ebn Jaafar had taken Poſſeſſion of the Houſe, but meddled with nothing in it, till *Caled* came back, who was gone in purſuit of thoſe Chriſtians he had beaten, and followed them to a River which was between them and *Tripoli*. The Greeks, as ſoon as they came to the River, took the Water. *Caled* purſued them no farther; but when he came back, found the Saracens in the Monaſtery. They ſeized all the Spoil, Silks, Cloaths, Houſhold-Stuff, Fruits and Proviſion, that were in the Fair; and all the Hangings, Money and Plate in the Houſe; and took the young Lady, the Governour's Daughter, and forty Maids that waited upon her. So they loaded all their Jewels, Wealth and Furniture, upon Horſes, Mules and Aſſes, and returned to *Damaſcus*, having left nothing behind them in the Houſe but the old Religious. Omar. Alwákidi.

While the Saracens were driving away the Spoil, *Caled* called out to the old Prieſt in the Houſe, who would not vouchſafe him an Anſwer. When he called a ſecond time; *What would you have?* (ſaid the Prieſt) *Get you gone about your Buſineſs; and aſſure your ſelf, that God's Vengeance will light upon your Head, for ſpilling the Blood of ſo many Chriſtians. How can that be* (ſaid *Caled*) *when* [1] *God has commanded us to fight with you, and kill you? And*

[1] *Alcoran*, Chap. VIII. 40.

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if the Apoſtle of God (of Bleſſed Memory) *had not commanded us to let ſuch Men as you are alone, you ſhould not have eſcaped any more than the reſt, but I would have put you to a moſt cruel Death.* The poor Religious held his Peace at this, and anſwered him never a Word.

Abu Obeidah was all the while waiting with great Impatience, to hear what News. When they returned, he received them with all imaginable Expreſſions of Kindneſs and Affection, taking moſt particular Notice of *Caled* and *Abdo'llah*. Having taken out a [1] *Fifth*, he diſtributed the reſt of the Spoil among the Soldiers. He gave to *Derar Ebno'l Azwâr* the Prefect of *Tripoli*'s Horſe and Saddle, who made a Preſent of them to his Siſter *Caulah*. She, as ſoon as ſhe had them, picked out all the precious Stones and Jewels, of which there was a great Number in the Trappings and Saddle, and divided them among the Women of her Acquaintance. Then they preſented the Priſoners to *Abu Obeidah*, among which was the Prefect's Daughter. *Abdo'llah* aſked that he might have her; but *Abu Obeidah* deſired him to ſtay till he could write to the *Caliph* about it, and have his Leave. *Omar* ordered him to let him have her, and he kept her till *Yezid*'s Reign, (which began in the Year 679.) who begged her of him,

[1] *Alcoran*, Chap. VIII. 42.

and

and had her. There were a great many rich Cloaths curiouſly wrought, upon one of which was our Bleſſed Saviour, which was carried with the reſt into *Arabia Fælix*, and ſold for ten times its Weight in Gold. [1] Whether the Eſteem they had for the Perſon it repreſented, or the Fineneſs of the Work, raiſed it to ſuch a Price, my Author does not determine; but I believe it was both. Then *Abu Obeidah* ſent a Letter to the Caliph, in which he gave him a particular Account of this laſt Victory, and praiſed *Caled* extremely; telling him how modeſtly and obediently he behaved himſelf, and how well he performed; and deſired that he would be ſo kind as to write to him, and encourage him, and keep up his Spirits: But I never yet have met with any Anſwer to that Particular; for the old Gentleman always turned a deaf Ear to every thing that was ſaid in Praiſe of *Caled*; whatever the Reaſon was, 'tis moſt certain he did not like him. Among other Particulars which *Abu Obeidah* wrote of to the Caliph, he deſired that he might either go and beſiege *Antioch*, (then the Seat of the Grecian

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[1] Indeed there is no abſolute Neceſſity of underſtanding that Price to be given only for that Piece, which had our Saviour wrought upon it; for the Author ſays, The embroider'd Cloath was ſold ſo, but whether he means only that Piece, or all the reſt that was embroider'd, is uncertain.

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Emperor, who upon the taking of *Damaſcus* had [2] removed from *Hems* thither) or elſe *Jeruſalem*, which he pleaſed. He acquainted him alſo, that the Muſlemans had learned to drink Wine in *Syria*. The Meſſenger went with the Letter to *Medinah*, and found *Omar* with his Friends in the *Moſque*. When *Omar* had read the Letter, and came to that laſt Particular, he ſhewed it to *Ali*, (afterwards Caliph) and aſked him, what he thought on't? *Ali* gravely anſwered, that whoever drank Wine, ſhould have fourſcore Stripes upon the Soles of their Feet. *Omar* ſent word to *Abu Obeidah* to deal with them accordingly, and ſwore, *That nothing would ſuit with thoſe Fellows, but Poverty and Hardſhip; whereas it would better become them to direct their Intentions aright, and obſerve the Commands of their moſt mighty Lord, and ſerve him, and believe in him, and give him Thanks.* *Abu Obeidah* having received the Letter, puniſhed the Offenders according to Order; and deſired his Men, that if any of them were conſcious to themſelves of having been guilty of this Fault, they would, as a Teſtimony of the Sincerity of their Repentance, offer themſelves to undergo this Pennance of their own Accord. Upon which a great many came in, and ſub-

[2] Though ſome ſay his Reſidence was *Antioch* before the Saracens came into *Syria*.

mitted

mitted to the Puniſhment voluntarily, having no Accuſer but their own Conſcience. Then he told them, that his Deſign was to march to *Antioch*, againſt the Grecian Dog, (for that was the beſt Compliment they could afford the Emperor.) The Saracens, according to their wonted Cuſtom, encouraged him to fight againſt the Enemies of God, and told him, they were ready at his Service. He told them, that he would go to *Aleppo* firſt, and then to *Antioch*. When they were ready to march, he called *Caled*, and ordered him to go in the Front, and take the Flag which *Abubeker* had given him at firſt, *viz.* the Black Eagle. With him went *Derar*, *Raphi Ebn Omeirah*, and ſeveral others of Note, with a conſiderable Number of Men. *Abu Obeidah* having placed in *Damaſcus* a Garriſon of five hundred Horſe, under the Command of *Sefwân Ebn Amîr*, marched after them. When he overtook them, he ordered *Caled* to ravage the Country all about *Hems* and *Kenniſrîn*, while he himſelf ſhould go to *Baalbec*, (formerly called *Heliopolis*.) As he was upon his March towards *Baalbec*, when he came near *Juſhiyah*, the Governour of *Juſhiyah* came to meet him with a Preſent, and made a Truce with him for one whole Year; telling him, that if they conquered *Baalbec*, *Hems*, and *Labwah*, he ſhould not ſtand in Oppoſition to

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him. *Abu Obeidah* conſented, upon Condition, that he ſhould pay him down four thouſand Pieces of Gold, and fifty Silk Veſts. This done, he goes forward in his March: As he was going, there came one upon a Camel, riding towards him full ſpeed. When he drew near, *Abu Obeidah* knew him to be *Aſâmah Ebn Zeid*; who making his Camel kneel, alighted; and, having paid his Reſpects, delivered him the following Letter.

In the Name of the moſt merciful God.

From the Servant of God, Omar Ebn Alchitâb, *to his Lieutenant, Greeting. I praiſe the only God, beſides whom there is no other; and I pray for his Prophet* Mahomet, *upon whom be the Bleſſing of God. There is no turning back the Decree and Determination of God; and he that is written an* INFIDEL *in the* [3] *ſecret Book, ſhall have no Faith. My ſpeaking thus is occaſioned by* Jabalah Ebno'l Ayham, *of the Tribe of* Gaſſân, *who came to us with his Relations, and the chief Men of his Tribe, whom I received and entertained kindly. They made Profeſſion of the True Religion before me; and I was glad that*

[3] The Mahometans believe that there is kept in Heaven a Regiſter of all Perſons and Things, which they call *Alláuh ho'hnehphoud*, the Table which is kept ſecret. In this Book all the Decrees of God, and whatſoever ſhall come to paſs, are ſuppoſed to be written.

God

Om ar. Alwâ kidi.

God haſt ſtrengthened the True Religion, and the Profeſſors of it, by their Coming in, and knowing what was in [4] *Secret. We went together on Pilgrimage to* Meccah, *and* Jabalah *went round the Temple* [5] *ſeven times: As he was going round, it chanced that a Man of the Tribe of* Fezàrah *trod upon his Veſt, ſo that it fell from his Shoulders.* Jabalah *turned himſelf about, and ſaid,* Woe be to thee! Thou haſt uncovered my Back in the ſacred Temple of God. *The Man ſwore that he did not deſign it: But* Jabalah *boxed him, broke his Noſe, and beat out four of his Fore-Teeth. The poor Man haſtened to me, and made his Complaint, deſiring my Aſſiſtance. I commanded* Jabalah *to be brought before me, and aſked him what moved him to beat his Brother Muſleman after this Faſhion, and knock his Teeth out, and break his Noſe. He told me, that the Man had trod upon his Veſt, and uncovered his Back; adding, that if it had not been for the Reverence he bore to the holy temple, he would have killed him. I told him he had made a fair Confeſſion againſt himſelf; and if the injured Perſon would not forgive him, I muſt proceed with*

[4] Arab. *Algaib*, which ſignifies whatſoever is ſecret and unknown to us, as things ſpiritual, inviſible and future. It is frequently in *Arab.* Authors oppoſed to what falls within the Compaſs of our Senſes and Underſtanding. [5] This is a Religious Ceremony uſed by all that go on Pilgrimage to *Meccah.*

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him by way of [3] *Retaliation. He anſwered, that he was a King, and the other a Peaſant. I told him, no Matter for that, they were both Muſlemans, and in that Reſpect equal. Upon which he deſired that his Puniſhment might be deferred till the next Day. I aſked the Injured Perſon, whether he was willing to ſtay ſo long? To which he gave his Conſent. In the Night,* Jabalah *and his Friends made their eſcape, and he is gone to the*

[3] *Retaliation*, or *Lex Talionis*, whereby the offending Perſon is obliged to ſuffer the ſame Hurt which he doth to another, was commanded the Jews, *Exod.* XXI. 24. *Eye for Eye, Tooth for Tooth, Hand for Hand, Foot for Foot:* And is expreſly enjoined by *Mahomet*, Alcoran II. 173. who inſerted a great many things which he had from the Jews. The modern Rabbins interpret this Command of the *Moſaical* Law, as if it were only a pecuniary Mulct. Don *Iſaac Abarbanel* has a great many Arguments to prove that it ought not to be underſtood in a literal Senſe: To inſtance in one or two: He aſks, Whether if the offending Perſon ſhould have but one Eye or one Hand, he ought to be deprived of either, becauſe he had ſtruck out an Eye or cut off another Man's Hand that had two? Again, How would it be poſſible for a Judge to inflict a Puniſhment, which ſhould be exactly the ſame with the Injury, ſince that Stroke might prove mortal to one Man, which was not ſo to another; and ſo a Man might pay for a Wound which was not mortal, with the Loſs of his Life? Thus far *Abarbanel*. But the Practice of the Mahometans is contrary. Only the injured Perſon may if he pleaſes accept of any other Satisfaction; but if he comes to a Judge, and demands *Retaliation*, he is obliged to let him have it.

Grecian

Grecian Dog; but I hope in God that he will give thee the Victory over him. Sit down before Hems, *and keep cloſe to it; and ſend thy ſpies towards* Antioch, *for fear of the Chriſtian* Arabs. *Health and Happineſs, and the Bleſſing of God, be upon thee, and all the Muſlemans.* Omar. Alwákidí.

What might not be expected from a Government, in which there flouriſhed ſuch impartial Adminiſtration of Juſtice? *Abu Obeidah* having read over the Letter, firſt to himſelf, and then to the Muſlemans, went on towards *Hems*, (whether *Caled* was gone before with a third Part of the Army) and ſat down before it in *November*, in the [1] Year of our Lord 635. The Governour of the Town chanced to die that ſame Day that *Caled* came before it. The Inhabitants expected that the Saracens would have taken *Baalbec* in their Way, before they ſhould have had their Company at *Hems*; and therefore were not ſo well provided to endure a Siege. Upon which Conſideration, in hopes of gaining Opportunity to augment their Stores, they conclude to make Application to *Abu Obeidah*, to make a Truce with them, telling him, that if the Saracens conquered *Haleb* (*Aleppo*) *Alhâdir*, and *Kinnaſrîn*, and beat the Emperor's Forces, they ſhould willingly ſubmit. *Abu Obeidah* conſented to make a Truce with them

[1] *Hegirah* 14. A.D. 635.

for

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for the ſpace of one whole Year, and no longer, which was to commence on the firſt Day of *Dulhagjah* of the preſent Year, and expire on the laſt Day of the Month *Sjewâl*, in the following Year, being the fifteenth of the *Hegirah*; upon Condition that they ſhould pay him down ten thouſand Pieces of Gold, and two hundred Silk Veſts. The Ceſſation of Arms was no ſooner concluded upon, than the *Hemeſſens* opened their Gates, and came out and kept a Market in the Saracen Camp. The Arabians, now enriched with the Spoils of the Country, gave them what they aſked, and never ſtood for a Price; ſo that the Citizens turned the Penny well. In the mean time the Arabian Horſe foraged all about the Country, both far and near. Among the reſt *Méſab Ebn Mohárib* brought in abundance of Spoil, Sheep and Oxen, with a great many Horſes and Camels loaden with Furniture, and four hundred Captives, making moſt pitious Lamentation for the Calamity which had fallen upon them. *Abu Obeidah*, moved with Compaſſion, aſked them, why they did not come into the Profeſſion of the *Mahometan* Religion? and by that means ſecure their Lives and Fortunes, Wives and Children. They told him, that they were altogether ſurprized, not expecting any Hoſtilities from the Saracens, at that Diſtance they lived. *Abu Obeida*

dah, having aſked Advice of the Muſlemans, and they referring it wholly to himſelf, ſet four Pieces of Gold upon every Head, as *Omar* had ordered him to do in ſuch Caſes, and laying Tribute upon them, and obliging them, every one in his reſpective Capacity, to aſſiſt the Muſlemans as Opportunity ſhould ſerve, gave them all their Cattle, Furniture, Wives and Children back again, having firſt entered their Names, and the Places of their Habitation, in a Book kept for that purpoſe. The poor People were overjoyed to find themſelves in ſuch a happy Condition, after having been plunged into the Depth of Deſpair, and acquainted their Neighbours with what an unexpected Favour they had received at the Hands of the Saracens. This Conduct did greatly facilitate the Conqueſt of the Arabians; for whereas an unrelenting Cruelty would have made every one deſperate, and have fought it out to the laſt drop of Blood; when they ſaw that there was a Poſſibility of enjoying their Religion, and a Competency, by ſubmitting themſelves to thoſe who would otherwiſe have taken all that they had by Force, and either have murdered them every one, or at beſt made them Slaves; a great many choſe rather to embrace the former Condition while it might be had, than run the Hazard of falling into the latter. By this means

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the Saracens were ſtrengthened, for they made uſe of theſe People on all Occaſions. They ſerved them for Interpreters, for Guides when they marched, and ſeveral other Purpoſes; and from them they received Advice of all the Motions of the Chriſtians, and Intelligence of whatever was debated or taken in hand to their Diſadvantage. Quickly after, the News of *Abu Obeidah*'s gentle Behaviour flew about the Country, a great many of the Greeks came in upon the ſame Terms, whom he booked and diſmiſſed peaceably. The Inhabitants of *Alhâdir* and *Kinniſrîn* hearing this, entertained ſome Thoughts of following their Example; but privately, and without the notice of [1] *Luke* their Governour, who was a warlike Man, and reſolved to make a vigorous Reſiſtance. This *Luke* had an Antipathy againſt the Governour of *Aleppo*; inſomuch that when *Heraclius* ſent for them both to conſult which way was beſt to manage the War, and both of them had aſſured him, they would do their beſt; they would not nevertheleſs join their Forces together, but looked each Man to the Defence of his own Province. As ſoon as *Luke* underſtood that his People were diſpoſed to ſubmit them-

[1] Some *Arab.* Authors call him *Matthias*; but they are, as I have obſerved before, very negligent in the Names of the Chriſtians.

ſelves

ſelves to the Saracens, he was very much diſpleaſed; but diſſembling his Anger, in hopes of preventing their Deſign by Stratagem, he calls a Council, and aſked their Advice. They told him, that they underſtood that the *Arabs* were a People that received into their Protection ſuch as came to them, and uſed to ſtand to their Word: That ſince they had come into *Syria*, their conſtant Practice had been, to kill and make Slaves of all that oppoſed them; at the ſame time protecting thoſe in the peaceable Enjoyment of their Poſſeſſions who ſubmitted to them. For which reaſon they thought it moſt adviſeable to follow the Example of their Neighbours. He anſwered, that they were in the right, and therefore he deſigned to make a Truce with them, till the Emperor's Succours ſhould come up, and then oppreſs them when they leaſt ſuſpected it. Upon this he diſpatches *Aſtachar*, a Prieſt, a very learned Man, Maſter of the Arabick Tongue, and thoroughly verſed in the Jewiſh and Chriſtian Theology, with a Letter to the Saracen General; in which he magnified the Greatneſs of the Emperor, and the Strength of the Place; adding, that all Attempts upon it would be in vain, not only upon the Account of its being well fortified and furniſhed with Plenty of Military Stores, but becauſe the Emperor was now raiſing a vaſt Army in

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in *Europe*, which were ſhortly to be tranſported over the *Boſphorus*, and muſtered at *Tyre*, for the Relief of *Syria*: That notwithſtanding all theſe Advantages, they were nevertheleſs deſirous to live at quiet, and were willing to have a Year's Truce, and the General ſhould ſet a Mark at their Bounds; that when any of the Saracen Horſe that foraged, came that way and ſaw the Sign, they ſhould go no further to do any Miſchief in their Country. That this Agreement of Truce was a Secret, and muſt not be known to *Heraclius* the Emperor, for fear of his Diſpleaſure. With theſe Inſtructions *Aſtachar* goes to *Hems*, where he found the Mahometans at Prayers. Prayers done, *Abu Obeidah* admits him, and when he offered to bow down to the Ground, would not ſuffer him. When *Caled* had heard the Contents of the Letter, he did not like it, but ſhaked his Head, and ſaid, *That this did not look like the Stile of a Man that deſired Peace in earneſt*; and would fain have perſwaded *Abu Obeidah* not to hearken to him. *But* (ſaid he) *let us go to the Place, and by* [2] Mahomet *I'll make that City a Prey to the Muſlemans, if it pleaſe God, and a Terror to the reſt. Softly!* (ſaid *Abu Obeidah*) *No Man knows*

[2] Arab. *Wahâkki dîn Reſoul Allah.* By the Veracity or Truth of the Religion of the Apoſtle of God. Sometimes *Wahâkki Reſoul Allah.* As it may be in this Place.

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the Hearts of Men, but God only. Well then, anſwered *Caled, make no Agreement with them, unleſs it be for good-and-all; and if they will accept of this, well and good; if not, let them alone. I hope, by the Help of God, I ſhall be a Match for them. Aſtachar* was ſurprized at *Caled*'s Roughneſs, and ſaid, *That the Character which he had heard of the Arabs was not true; for the Chriſtians had been informed that they were very gentle and courteous to all ſuch Perſons as came to ſeek their Protection: But now* (adds he) *I find the contrary, for I come to propoſe Terms of Peace, and you are not willing to accept them.* To which *Caled* anſwered, that they were not willing to be impoſed upon, but had great reaſon to ſuſpect the Sincerity of theſe Overtures; and if there ſhould come any Aſſiſtance from the Emperor, and they ſaw any Advantage on their own ſide, they would be the firſt that would take up Arms againſt the Saracens, notwithſtanding their preſent pretended Deſire of Peace. However a Ceſſation of Arms ſhould be granted for a Twelvemonth, upon Condition, that if any Forces were ſent by the Grecian Emperor, the Inhabitants of the City ſhould keep themſelves within their own Walls, and not ſtir out to their Aſſiſtance. This done, *Aſtachar* aſked for a Copy of the Agreement, which *Abu Obeidah* having

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having given him, he deſired that there might be ſome Sign ſet up at the Limits of their Territories, that when the Soldiers ſaw it they might not forage in their Country. *Abu Obeidah* ſaid, he would take Care to have it done: But *Aſtachar* told him, he need not trouble any of his own Men, for they intended, with his Leave, to do it themſelves. Accordingly the Greeks erected a [3] Pillar, upon the Top of which they carved the Grecian Emperor ſitting upon his Throne. All things being thus made eaſy for a while, between the Saracens and the Governour of *Kinniſrîn*, there happened an unlucky Accident, which had like to have occaſioned a Miſunderſtanding between them. Some of the Saracen Horſe paſſing that way, and obſerving the curious Workmanſhip of the Pillar, admired it. They ſpent ſome time in viewing it, riding paſt it backward and forward, and exerciſing themſelves round about it. At laſt, as one of them paſt by it in a full Career, with his Javelin in his Hand; the Iron which was faſtened in the lower End of the Javelin, accidentally ſtruck out one of the Eyes of the carved Emperor. This taking Air was miſconſtrued by the Greeks as a moſt vile Indignity offered to the Emperor in Effigie, and a manifeſt Breach of the Truce. Upon this

[3] This ſame Story is in *Eutychius* his Annals.

Meſſengers

Meſſengers are diſpatched to *Abu Obeidah*, who expoſtulate with him upon the Injury with a great deal of Clamour, and inſiſt upon Satisfaction. He declares, that his Intent was to keep his Word inviolably, and that he was well aſſured, that whoever did it, had no deſign to ſhew any Diſrepect to the Emperor; and, that the Sincerity of his Intentions might appear, profered any reaſonable Satisfaction. Nothing would ſatisfy them but Retaliation, and the Affront offered to the Emperor muſt be returned upon the Caliph. In which Demand, when he that ſpoke, expreſſed himſelf unwarily, and talked of putting out one of *Omar*'s Eyes, the rude Saracens thinking he meant literally as he ſpoke, were ſo inflamed, that had not *Abu Obeidah* reſtrained them, by telling them, that theſe People wanted Senſe, and muſt be borne with, they had ruſhed upon them inſtantly, and killed them upon the ſpot. *Abu Obeidah* told them, that they might ſet up his Statue if they would, and do what they pleaſed with it: But nothing would ſerve but the Statue of the *Caliph*. To which at laſt, wearied with Importunity, he conſented. They having made a Statue to repreſent *Omar*, and put two Glaſs Eyes in the Head of it, ordered one of their Men to ſtrike out one of them with a Lance. And thus, having received ſufficient Reparation for the Injury received, they were pacified.

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Abu Obeidah continued at *Hems*, ſending out his Horſe to forage, and expecting with great Impatience the Expiration of the Truce, which had tied up his Hands from offering any Hoſtility within the Territories of *Hems*, *Alhâdir* and *Kinniſrîn*. *Omar* in the mean time wondered at *Abu Obeidah*'s Silence, and not having heard of any conſiderable Action a long time, grew very angry: At laſt he wrote a ſhort ſnapping ſort of a Letter to *Abu Obeidah*, as follows:

In the Name of the moſt merciful God,

From Omar Ebno'l Chitâb, *to* Abu Obeidah Ebno'l Jerahh, *his Lieutenant in* Syria, *Greeting. I praiſe God, beſides whom there is no other; and I pray for his Prophet* Mahomet, *upon whom be the Bleſſing of God. I command thee to put thy Truſt in God; and I bid thee take heed that thou be not one of thoſe, concerning whom God* [8] *ſays;* [9] "SAY, If your Parents, or Children, or "Friends, or Wives, or Families, or the Riches "you have gained, or the Merchandiſe which "you are afraid you ſhould not ſell, or the "Houſes which you delight in be dearer to

[8] So they quote the Alcoran, but when they mention any of *Mahomet*'s Sayings, they ſet down his Name. [9] This is the twenty fourth Verſe of the Ninth Chapter of the *Alcoran*. In which, (as alſo in a Multitude of other Places) *Mahomet* introduces God ſpeaking to him thus, SAY, [to the People] *If your Parents*, &c.

"you

" you than God and his Apoſtle, and the fight- Omar. Alwâkidi.
" ing for his Service; ſtay till God ſhall accom-
" pliſh what he has decreed. God does not di-
" rect thoſe that do wickedly.

The Muſlemans had no ſooner heard the Letter, than they perfectly underſtood that *Omar* deſigned by it to rebuke them for their Negligence. *Abu Obeidah* repented himſelf heartily that he had granted a Truce to the Inhabitants of *Alhâdir* and *Kinniſrîn*, and all the Muſlemans wept for Sorrow, becauſe they had been ſo remiſs in their Duty; and aſked *Abu Obeidah*, why he ſat ſtill, and did not lead them forth to fight the [6] *Battles of the Lord?* deſiring of him at the ſame time to leave *Kinniſrîn*, and march either to *Aleppo* or *Antioch*; before either of which were taken, the Truce would be expired. Upon this he had Thoughts of going to *Aleppo*, and having left *Salmah* with a Party of Horſe at *Hems*, the firſt Place he came at was *Arreſtân*; from thence he marched to *Hamah*, (afterwards the Seat of the famous *Abu'lpheda*) and from thence to *Shaizar*; with all which Places he made Truce upon Conditions. At *Shaizar*, he received Information, that the Governour of *Kinniſrîn* (contrary to the Articles of Truce) had wrote to the Emperor for freſh

[6] Arab. *Jehâd. Bellum Sacrum.*

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Supplies; who had ſent *Jabalah Ebno'l Ayham* to his Aſſiſtance. Upon which, *Abu Obeidah* defers his intended March to *Aleppo*, deſigning to fall upon *Kinniſrîn*, as ſoon as the Truce ſhould be expired, which did not now want quite a Month. The Governour of *Kinniſrîn* going out to meet *Jabalah*, and the Prefect of *Ammouriyah* coming to his Aſſiſtance, was unfortunately intercepted by *Caled*; who, having ventured upon that Undertaking with an inconſiderable Number of Men, eſcaped the greateſt Danger, being on every ſide ſurrounded with the Chriſtians: After he had killed the Prefect of *Kinniſrîn*, *Raphi Ebn Omeirah* ſaid to him, [7] *Our Time is come.* To which he anſwered, *That he believed ſo, becauſe he had forgot his Cap, which uſed to do him ſuch ſingular Service; and which he ſhould not have left behind him, if it had not been ſo decreed:* But ſpeedy Relief coming from *Abu Obeidah*, they were delivered beyond all Expectation.

Abu Obeidah fully reſolving now to beſiege *Kinniſrîn*, ſent a Party of Horſe before, who foraged and waſted all the Country round about. The Priſoners which they took were ſent to the Caliph, and he took Care to put the Boys to the Writing-School, according to the Command of their Prophet *Mahomet*; who though

[7] Arab. *Jàa Ajálona.*

he

he could neither write nor read himſelf, was very well ſenſible of the uſe of it. The Inhabitants of *Kinniſrîn* having loſt their Governour, and being altogether out of Hopes of eſcaping, ſued for Protection, and ſubmitted to pay Tribute, being firſt polled, according to *Omar*'s Order, at the Rate of four Ducats an Head. *Kinniſrîn* being taken, *Abu Obeidah* called his Muſlemans together, and ſaid, *Tell me (God bleſs you) your Advice; for God has ſaid in the mighty Book*, (meaning the *Alcoran*) *to his Prophet* Mahomet, ASK THEIR ADVICE IN A MATTER, AND TRUST UPON GOD; *and the Apoſtle of God has ſaid*, HE THAT TAKES ADVICE IS SECURE; *ſhall we go to* Aleppo, *or* Antioch? They told him, that the time of the Truce which he had made with the neighbouring Places was almoſt expired, and therefore they were of Opinion, that it would be moſt adviſeable to take them in their way, before they moved any further into the Country; eſpecially they choſe to go to *Baalbec*, where they had Reaſon to expect a vigorous Oppoſition. *Abu Obeidah* hereupon, leaving *Caled* to beſiege *Hems*, marched himſelf to *Baalbec*; where, when the Saracens came, they found themſelves not at all diſappointed in their Expectation; for the Place was very well fortified, and ſtored with warlike

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Proviſion. The Saracens intercepted a Caravan, with four hundred Loads of Silks and Sugars, upon their Journey to *Baalbec*. *Abu Obeidah* put none of them to Death, (as not bearing Arms) but gave them Leave to ranſom themſelves. Some of them going to *Baalbec*, acquainted the Inhabitants with the Loſs of the Caravan; who, under the Conduct of *Herbis* their Governour, went out in Hopes of recovering it, to the Number of ſix thouſand Horſe, attended with a Rabble of the undiſciplined Multitude; who, imagining that the main Body of the Saracen Army had ſtill continued at *Hems*, and that the Caravan had been ſpoiled only by a Party of Foragers; encountring with *Abu Obeidah* under ſo great a Diſadvantage, were overthrown and routed, *Herbis*, their General receiving no leſs than ſeven Wounds, and with great Difficulty and Hazard retiring to the City. When *Abu Obeidah* came before it, the Saracens reſolved to beſiege it ſtreightly. *Meâd Ebn Jabal* told *Abu Obeidah*, that he knew the People of the Town were ready to tread one upon another, and he thought it could ſcarce contain them all; adding, *If we hold out againſt it, we hope that God will deliver it into the Hands of the Muſlemans*; *for God will not ceaſe to give the Earth for an Inheritance to his Servants the Saints, becauſe he has ſaid, WE have written in the Pſalms,*

* *Alcoran*, Chap. XXI. 105.

that

that my Servants the Saints ſhall inherit the Earth. The next Day *Abu Obeidah* wrote a Letter to the Beſieged, in which he put them in Mind of the Victories which God had already granted to the Faithful, over thoſe which oppoſed them, and offered to receive them, paying Tribute as others had done before them. This Letter he gave to a Country-man that was under their Protection, and a Reward of twenty Pieces of Silver, ſaying, *That he was none of thoſe that would make uſe of any Man's Service, and not pay him for it.* The Meſſenger coming to the Wall, they let down a Rope, which he having tied about his middle, they drew him up. The Letter being read, (for *Abu Obeidah*, when he wrote to the *Greeks*, made uſe of a *Greek* Secretary) the Beſieged were divided in their Opinions, and a great many of them inclined to ſurrender; which *Herbis* the Governour was ſo averſe to, that he tore the Letter in Pieces, and threw it to the Meſſenger, commanding him to be forthwith ſent back again, which was all the Anſwer he vouchſafed to give to it. Omar. Alwákidi.

The Saracens, upon this, beſieging the City, were bravely repulſed by the Beſieged, who did them a great deal of Damage with their Engines planted upon the Walls. The Valour of the Citizens, together with the extreme Coldneſs of

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the Weather, made the Saracens glad to lay by their Aſſault. The next Morning, after Prayers were over, a Cryer went round the Camp, commanding in the General's Name, that never a Man of them ſhould ſtir, or do any thing elſe, before he got himſelf ready ſome hot Victuals. The Order was no ſooner heard than obeyed, and every Man went to work for himſelf. Whilſt they were in the midſt of their Cookery, the Beſieged ſallied. The Saracens were immediately alarmed. Among the reſt, *Ahmed Ebn Aſed* was juſt a going to put his Hand to his Mouth, when *Abu Obeidah* ſtruck him a good Blow with a Truncheon, and gave him an hearty Curſe into the Bargain. The poor Man ſtarted up on a ſudden, and like one ſcared out of his Wits, ſnatched up a Tent-pole, and ran and charged the Enemy, ſcarce knowing where he was, till he was got in the midſt of them. The Saracens ſurprized in this Diſorder, did with much ado beat back the Beſieged, who nevertheleſs carried off with them ſome Priſoners and Plunder. In the Evening the Chief of the Saracens met at *Abu Obeidah*'s Tent, and ſaid, *You ſee the Courage of theſe People, what do you think to do in this Caſe?* To which he anſwer'd, *That the Damage ſuſtain'd by the Saracens was decreed by God, who was pleaſed to honour thoſe Perſons that were killed with the Degree of Martyr-*

tyrdom. Then he commanded them to remove their Tents to a greater Diſtance from the City, that they might have a larger Space for their Horſes to courſe in. He gave to *Saïd Ebn Zeid* the Command of five hundred Horſe, and three hundred Foot, with Orders to go into the Valley, and keep the *Greeks* in Play at that Gate, which was oppoſite to the Mountains, that their Forces might be divided, and they obliged to fight in Parcels. *Derar* was placed at the Gate which looks towards *Damaſcus*, with three hundred Horſe and two hundred Foot. The next Morning about Break of Day. *Herbis* the Governour, with a ſtrong Body of Men, ſallied out at the Gate where *Abu Obeidah* himſelf was poſted; encouraging his Men, and telling them, that the Saracens were afraid of them, and bidding them remember, that they fought for their Religion, Wives, Children, and Fortunes; in a Word, whatſoever was dear to them. They anſwered him chearfully, That though they were afraid of the *Arabs* at firſt, yet they were not ſo now, being a little better acquainted with their manner of fighting: Beſides, the *Arabs* were half naked; ſome of them fighting without Armour, others with ſcarce Cloaths enough to cover them; whereas (ſaid they) we have good Helmets, Breaſt-plates, and Coats of Mail. *Abu Obeidah* on the other ſide was not wanting

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to tell the Saracens that they muſt have Patience; *for God had promiſed good Succeſs to thoſe that held out to the laſt.* The *Greeks* encouraged with Yeſterday's Victory, charged the Saracens home, and the Battle was maintained with great Obſtinacy on both Sides, yet ſo as the *Greeks* had apparently the Advantage. At that time *Sohail Ebn Sabah* received a Wound in his Right Arm, which diſabled him ſo, that he could not hold up his Sword: Upon which he alighted from his Horſe, and having told his Friends that he was no longer able to defend himſelf, retired out of the Battle to a neighbouring Hill; which having clambered up, not without ſome Pain and Difficulty, he had a clear Proſpect of both the Armies. The *Greeks*, as we ſaid, having ſallied out upon *Abu Obeidah*'s Quarters, there was nothing to do at thoſe Gates where *Derar* and *Saïd Ebn Zeid* were poſted. *Sohail* obſerving this, and that *Abu Obeidah* was forced to give Ground, without any Order from the General, or any Perſon's knowing it, kindled a Fire, and with ſome green Sticks, made a great Smoak upon the Top of the Hill. As ſoon as *Saïd* and *Derar* perceived it, they imagined it to have been a Signal from the General for them to come up, that being the moſt uſual Signal among the Saracens by Day, as Fire was by Night, when they

they had a Mind to call thoſe together, who were poſted at any Diſtance. Upon this *Derar* and *Saïd* rode with their Men full ſpeed, and came ſeaſonably to the Relief of their Brethren: For the *Greeks* by this Time thought themſelves ſecure of the Victory; but finding themſelves ſurrounded, the Caſe was quite altered with them; and they who ſo few Minutes ago expected to have won the Field, now deſpaired of getting back to their own City: However, they joining cloſe together, and fighting bravely, made an impenetrable Phalanx; which, maugre all Oppoſition, gained the Top of an Hill, on which there ſtood an old deſerted Monaſtery, whither *Herbis* and his Men retired, and ſtood upon their own Defence. *Abu Obeidah*, who as yet knew nothing of *Saïd* and *Derar*'s being come from the Places where he had poſted them, perceiving with what undaunted Courage theſe Men fought, imagined their Retreat feigned, only with a Deſign to draw the Saracens out of Order, and therefore would not let his Men purſue them. But *Saïd Ebn Zeid* hearing nothing of the General's Order, followed them to the Top of the Hill. There leaving one in his Room with Orders not to ſuffer a Man to ſtir out of the Houſe, he with twenty of his Men went to acquaint *Abu Obeidah* with the News. Who ſeeing him come with ſo few, was

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was ſurprized, and aſked him what was become of the reſt. *Saïd* told him, they were all ſafe and ſound, and had beſieged the Enemies of God (a Compliment they are very liberal of to the Chriſtians) in an old Houſe, acquainting him with all the Circumſtances of the Story. Then *Abu Obeidah* enquired of him and *Derar* what made them ſtir from their Poſts? *Saïd* ſwore, that he did nothing contrary to order, for he never ſtirred till he ſaw the Smoak. *Abu Obeidah* confeſſed that it was well they came, for he was afraid the Greeks would have ſeized their Camp, and wiſhed for them, or for ſome Body to make a Smoak. *Saïd* again poſitively affirming that there was a Smoak, *Abu Obeidah* was aſtoniſhed, and made Proclamation throughout the Camp, *Whoever be he that kindled the Fire, and Smoak upon the Hill, let him ſpeak*; and this with an Adjuration. Upon this *Sohail* came forth, and confeſſed it, and told the reaſon why he did it. *Abu Obeidah* was very glad it happened ſo well, but charged them all ſtrictly, that none of them ſhould ever dare to attempt any ſuch thing again, without the Permiſſion of their General.

Whilſt *Abu Obeidah* was talking to *Sohail*, a Saracen came with all ſpeed from the Mountain, and alarm'd the whole Camp. *Herbis* perceiving by how ſmall a Number he was beſieged

ſieged in the Houſe, being now fewer than five hundred, took Courage, and ſallied, in hopes of recovering the City. They fought bravely, and handled the Saracens at ſuch a rate, that *Meſab Ebn Adi*, who was preſent in moſt of the Battles fought in *Syria*, ſaid, that of all he ever beheld, he never ſaw any Men behave themſelves better, nor ſtand cloſer to it, than thoſe Greeks, which were then with the Governour. It was he that rode and gave notice to *Abu Obeidah*, who had no ſooner heard it, than he diſpatched *Saïd* with an Hundred Archers, and commanded *Derar* to aſſiſt him. When they came to the Hill, they found their Friends in a pitiful Condition, for there were no leſs than ſeventy Saracens upon the Ground, wounded or killed, and the Greeks laid about them very eagerly. But overpowered with freſh Numbers of their Enemies, they were forced once more to retire to their Monaſtery, where they were watched with ſuch a vigilant Eye, that one of them could not ſo much as offer to peep out but the Saracens let fly an Arrow at him. Omar. Alwâkidi.

Abu Obeidah leaving *Saïd Ebu Zeid* to take Care of the Governour, drew up his Men, and ordered them to pitch their Tents about the City; *For* (ſays he) *God has circumvented your Enemy, and performed that Promiſe which he made*

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made to us, to help us; and this is becauſe God is a Protector of thoſe who put their Truſt in him; but as for the Infidels, they have no Protector. *Herbis*, the Governour, finding himſelf ſtreightened, began to repent himſelf that ever he came into that old Houſe. He conſidered with great Concern, that in a very ſhort time he and his Men muſt needs be reduced for want of Proviſion. Nor could any about him, ſuppoſing they could have found a Poſſibility of ſending, think of any Perſon capable of aſſiſting them in theſe deplorable Circumſtances. The Saracens having taken ſo many Places already, had ſpread ſuch a Terror around the Country, that thoſe which remained were under too great a Concern for their own Preſervation, to be at leiſure to lend an helping Hand to their diſtreſſed Neighbours. A great many others had by Agreement to a Truce, rendered themſelves incapable of bearing Arms at that time againſt the Saracens. In this miſerable State, no other Proſpect offering itſelf, compelled by Neceſſity, they were forced to ſurender themſelves into the Hands of their Conquerors. *Herbis* calls out aloud, and aſks if there were any Perſon that underſtood him. Being aſked by an Interpreter what he would have; he deſired that he might be ſecured from Danger of the Archers, and that *Saïd* would come near

and

and talk with him. *Saïd* anſwered, that he owed him no ſuch Reſpect; but if he had any thing to ſay, he might come to him. Loath to venture himſelf, he, by means of the Interpreter, got leave to ſend a Meſſenger, who coming before *Saïd*, offered to fall down upon his Face by way of Reſpect. *Saïd* made a Sign to him to forbear, and the Saracens came about him, and held him from doing it: Of which he having aſked the reaſon, *Saïd* ſaid to the Interpreter, *Becauſe both he and I are Servants of God, and it is not lawful to uſe Adoration and Worſhip to any but God, who is the proper Object of Worſhip.* Being examined about his Errand, he ſaid, that he came to deſire Protection for *Herbis* and his Men; which was accordingly granted, upon Condition, that they ſhould lay down their Arms, and ſurrender themſelves. The Meſſenger aſked, whether that Security was only from himſelf, or from the General too? *Saïd* told him, from all the Saracens. When *Herbis* heard this, he came out, and my Author tells us, that he has learnt from Perſons worthy of Credit, that *Herbis* when he came out to ſurrender himſelf, put off all his Silks, and exchanging with ſome of his Men, put on Woollen Apparel, ſuiting his Habit to the Meanneſs of his preſent Condition. *Saïd* ſeeing him come along in this humble Mein, fell down

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down and worſhipped God, ſaying, *Praiſed be God, who hath humbled their great Ones before us, and given us Dominion over their Rulers.* Then he went to meet him, and bad him come nearer, and ſit down by him; and aſked him, whether that which he had on was his proper Habit; To which he anſwered, *That he never had any Woollen on before in his Life, nor knew what it was to wear any thing but Silk.* He demanding of *Saïd*, whether he had Power, or was willing to grant Security, as well for thoſe in the City as thoſe preſent with him? *Saïd* told him, *That as for thoſe which were with him he would grant them Security, upon two Conditions; Either that they ſhould turn Mahometans, and ſo have one common Intereſt with them: Or, if they choſe rather to continue in the Profeſſion of their own Religion, they ſhould never more bear Arms againſt the Muſlemans. But as for thoſe in the City, they were at the General's Diſpoſal; to whom if he was willing to go, he profered his Service to conduct him; and if they could agree upon any Terms, well and good: If not, he ſhould, if he deſired it, have free Leave, with as many of his Men as were willing to go back with him, to return to his Monaſtery again; there to be beſieged till God ſhould determine the Matter between them.*

Being brought into the Preſence of *Abu Obeidah*, and taking a View of the *Saracens* about

bout him, conſidering at the ſame time what a Condition they had brought him and his Men into, he ſhaked his Head, and bit his Fingers Ends for Indignation. Being aſked what was the reaſon of that Behaviour? he anſwered, *That he thought their Number had been much greater than he found it was, now he was come among them.* *Abu Obeidah* bad his Interpreter tell him, *That the Number of the true Believers ſeemed greater in the Eyes of the Idolaters than it really was; becauſe the Angels helped them, as they did at the Battle of* Beder, *which is the Grace of God towards us; and by this means God gives us the Victory over your Country, and makes your armies flee before us.* That the Angels helped *Mahomet* in Battle, he has expreſly told them in the [1]*Alcoran*; and they believed and depended upon the ſame Aſſiſtance, and oftentimes attributed their Succeſs to it; not that any of them pretended ever to have ſeen theſe Auxiliary Troops of militant Angels; it being ſufficient for their Purpoſe to be ſeen by their Enemies. *Herbis* offered for the whole Bity of *Baalbec* one thouſand Ounces of Gold, two thouſand of Silver, and one thouſand Silk Veſts. *Abu Obeidah* told him, *If they would have Peace, they muſt double the Sum, and add to it a Thouſand Swords, and all the Arms be-*

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[1] Chap. IX. 26. 40.

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longing to thoſe men that were ſhut up in the Monaſtery, and pay Tax and Tribute the next Year, and never bear Arms for the time to come, nor write to the Emperor, nor attempt either directly, or indirectly any thing againſt the Saracens, nor build any Churches or Monaſteries. *Herbis* complaining of the Severity of the Articles, as being all in Favour of the *Saracens*, deſired that the Beſieged might at leaſt have this one Article on their ſide; *viz.* *That whoſoever ſhall be appointed Lieutenant over* Baalbec, *ſhould not come into the City, nor any of his Men; but pitching his Tents on the out-ſide of the Walls, ſhould there receive the Tribute impoſed upon the Inhabitants.* This being granted, all was agreed upon, only there wanted the Townſmens Conſent; who, having heard the Articles, did not approve of them, and ſaid, they would never ſurrender the ſtrongeſt City in *Syria* into the Hands of the Saracens, upon ſuch Terms: But when *Herbis* had remonſtrated to them the Danger to which he and his Men muſt be expoſed, if there were not ſome Agreement made, and the Proviſion he had made for their Repoſe and Quiet, in excluding all the Saracens from once entering into the Town; adding withal, that he would lay down a fourth part of what was impoſed upon them himſelf, they at laſt conſented: *Herbis* alone going into the City to raiſe the pro-

promiſed Sum, *Abu Obeidah* detained all the reſt of his Men as Hoſtages, till it ſhould be paid. In twelve Days time he brought it; upon which *Abu Obeidah* diſmiſſed the Men, and calling for *Raphi Ebn Abdo'llah*, left him to take Care of *Baalbac* with five hundred Saracens, giving him a moſt ſtrict Charge to do nothing but what was right and juſt, telling him that he had heard the Prophet ſay, That God had commanded *Moſes* and *David* the ſame thing. He bad him prevent all manner of Diſturbance between his Men and the Inhabitants of the City, and have an Eye to the Sea-ſhore, and pillage all thoſe Places in the Neighbourhood, which had not entered into Articles. Having left him with this Charge, he moved towards *Hems*; and before he came thither, the Prefect of *Juſhiyah* met him with a Preſent, which he accepting, renewed the Truce with him. Omar. Alwákidi.

Raphi very punctually executed his Charge, and both he and his Men behaved themſelves ſo inoffenſively, that the Citizens and the Saracens grew very well acquainted. The Saracens, according to their Cuſtom, plundering all the Neighbourhood, ſold what they got to the Citizens, who began to be in a fair way of growing rich with the Spoils of their Country-men and Fellow-Chriſtians. *Herbis*, formerly their

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Governour, perceiving this, began to conſider which way he might bring himſelf in for a Share of the Gains: Wherefore, calling them together, he repreſented what Hazard he had expoſed himſelf to for their Preſervation, whilſt it was in his Power, and what Pains he had taken to procure them thoſe Articles of Peace, of which they now reaped the Benefit; beſides the paying down, at his own proper Expence, the fourth part of what was impoſed upon them all; adding, that he thought it nothing but reaſonable, that ſince they were in a Capacity, he ſhould be reimburſed. This was conſented to without any Oppoſition; but he told them, that he did not deſire to deprive any of them of any part of their Subſtance, but only they ſhould agree to pay him the Tenth of what they ſaved in their Trading with the *Arabs*. They were at firſt very unwilling to come to this; but after Debate, conſidering his Quality, as having been once their Governour, though now reduced to the ſame Condition with themſelves; and that when Neceſſity required it, he had not ſpared his own private Subſtance for the publick Good, they at laſt agreed to it. This done, he appoints a Tythe-man to gather it, and in a few Days it amounted to a very conſiderable Sum. The Sweetneſs of this Gain, inſtead of extinguiſhing, encreaſed his Thirſt; where-

whereupon in a ſecond Meeting he told them, that it would be a long time before what he had laid out would be repaid at this Rate, and propoſed, that either they ſhould admit him one of their Company, or elſe inſtead of a Tenth, pay him a Fourth Part of all their Gains. The People, vexed to the Heart at this ſqueezing, inſatiable Temper, cryed out, *Away with him, and all ſuch unreaſonable Wretches, we had better be governed by the Saracens than ſuch; for they are better, and more juſt*; and with a great Noiſe and Shout ruſhed upon him, and killed him. The Saracens without heard the Noiſe, but did not know what was the Matter; neither would *Raphi* go into the City contrary to the Agreement, but ſaid, if there was any Difference between them, and they came out to him, he would endeavour to make them Friends. Preſently after they came thronging out to him, and acquainted him with what they had done; how civil they were to their Prefect, in anſwering his firſt Demand, and how unreaſonable he had been in coveting more, deſiring *Raphi* to come into the City, and govern it himſelf; which he refuſed, till he had wrote to *Abu Obeidah*; who ſent him Word, that ſince the People were willing, he ought not to ſcruple it: Upon which he and his Men went into [2] *Baalbec*, on the twentieth day of *January*, Omar. Alwâkidi.

[2] *Hegirah* 15. A. D. $63\frac{6}{7}$.

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Leaving *Baalbec*, we muſt now march to *Hems*; before which *Abu Obeidah* having brought his Army, before any Attempt made upon it, ſent to the Governour the following Letter.

In the Name of the moſt merciful God.

From Abu Obeidah Ebn Aljerâhh, *Lieutenant in* Syria *to the Emperor of the Faithful* Omar, Ebn Alchitâb (*whom God bleſs*) *and General of his Forces. The moſt mighty God hath conquered ſeveral Places by our Hands; wherefore do not let the Greatneſs of your City, nor the Strength of your Buildings, nor the Plenty of your Stores, nor the Bigneſs of your Bodies, deceive you: For your City is no more in our Hands, when we come to war againſt it, than if we ſhould ſet a Pot upon a Stone in the midſt of our Camp, and all the Army ſhould come round about it, to take every one of them a mouthful. In the firſt Place therefore, I invite you to our Religion, and that Law which our Prophet* Mahomet, *of bleſſed Memory, brought us. Which if you ſhall receive, then ſhall you partake with us in all our Fortunes, good and bad; and we will ſend you Men to inſtruct you in your Religion, as God has commanded us. If you refuſe the Mahometan Religion, we ſhall continue you in your Poſſeſſions,*

Poſſeſſions, paying Tribute. If neither of theſe Conditions pleaſe you, come out and fight us, till God, who is the beſt Judge, ſhall determine between us. Omar. Alwâkidi.

This being no ſooner received than rejected with the utmoſt Scorn, both Sides prepared themſelves, the Saracens for an Aſſault, the Beſieged for their Defence. The Beſieged ſallying, made ſo good a Days Work of it, that the Saracens had little Reaſon to boaſt of their Victory. There was preſent a great Man among the *Arabs*, a Perſon of extraordinary Sagacity and Penetration, and had himſelf many times commanded an Army with good Conduct and Succeſs: He, conſidering well the Strength of the Place, and the Courage and Reſolution of the Inhabitants, told *Abu Obeidah* privately, that he might ſooner expect to conquer *Hems* by Stratagem, than Force of Arms, and propoſed to him to raiſe the Siege, if he could induce the Beſieged to let him have five Days Proviſion for his Men and Horſes, upon that Condition: By which Means their Stock of Proviſion would be very much diminiſhed, and he might take a fit Opportunity of ſurprizing them. This Advice being approved, *Abu Obeidah* acquainted the Beſieged with his Deſign of intermitting the Siege of *Hems*, and trying his Fortune at other Places, of which there ſtill re-

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remained unconquered a great Number in *Syria* very well fortifyed, upon the Condition afore-mentioned. The People willing at any Rate to get rid of ſuch troubleſome Neighbours, conſidering withal thoſe many Accidents that might prevent their ever returning thither, or at leaſt defer it a long time, eaſily aſſented. The Governour himſelf being as willing as any to compound with the Saracens upon theſe Terms, told his People, That the *Arabs* were like wild Beaſts, greedy of Prey; wherefore he thought it the beſt way to give them ſomething to fill their Bellies, and ſend them packing. Upon this he ſends ſome of the chief Clergy to *Abu Obeidah*, to make the Agreement, and take a Copy of the Articles: Which being done, the Citizens brought out their Proviſion, according to the Agreement. *Abu Obeidah* told them, that ſince their intended March was likely to be tedious, he ſhould be very glad to buy the Remainder of their Proviſion. The People were willing to ſell, and the Mahometans bought as long as they had any thing left to buy withal, or exchange for.

Some Spies belonging to the Emperor, being at that time in the Saracen Camp, and perceiving the *Emeſſens* ſet open their Gates, and bring out their Proviſions, without taking time to inform themſelves thoroughly of the Cauſe

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of it, went and ſpread a Report about the Country, that *Hems* was ſurrendered, to the great Surprize and Diſcouragement of the reſt, who had their Hearts daily filled with the increaſing Terror of the Saracens. *Abu Obeidah* from *Hems* went to *Arreſtân*, a ſtrong Place, well watered, and full of Soldiers; where his Summons being rejected, he deſired the Favour of the Governour of the Caſtle to leave ſome old Lumber, which would be troubleſome and cumberſome to them in their ſpeedy March. This was without much Scruple granted, all being deſirous of their Abſence upon any Terms. Upon this he takes twenty Cheſts, and encloſing in them twenty choſen Men; to prevent all Suſpicion put Locks upon the Out-ſides of them, the Bottoms of the Cheſts being ſo contrived, as to ſlip backward and forward as he within pleaſed. Theſe received into the Caſtle, the Saracens marched, only *Caled* was left with ſome Forces, by way of Ambuſcade, to aſſiſt thoſe in the Cheſts. The Saracens gone, the Chriſtians went to Church to give thanks for the Departure of their Enemies, and were heard ſinging Pſalms by *Derar*, *Abdo'rrahmân*, and *Abdo'llah* in the Cheſts, who taking this Opportunity, came forth, and having ſeized the Governour's Lady, demanded the Keys of the Gates. From thence they went to the Church,

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Church, where they, without Difficulty, ſurprized the unarmed Multitude. Then *Abdo'llah 'Ebn Jaafar*, who commanded them, ſent five of them with the Keys to open the Gates, and cry out *Allàh Acbar*; which done, *Caled*, who was within hearing, came up, and *Arreſtân* was taken without Oppoſition.

This made the Conditions much more eaſy to the Inhabitants, the *Saracens* not expecting ſuch an unbloody Conqueſt. Wherefore, they reſigning themſelves without any more to do, had their Liberty granted to go where they pleaſed. Some of them changed their Religion, though the greater Number ſtill retained their Chriſtianity, and went to *Hems*.

Two Thouſand Men being left in Garriſon at *Arreſtân*, *Abu Obeidah* moves with his Army to *Shaizar*. He had no ſooner ſent his Summons, than there aroſe a great Diſpute about ſurrendering the Place: The Conqueſt of *Arreſtân*, *Baalbec*, *Damaſcus*, *Boſtra*, and as they ſuppoſed of *Hems*, gave them juſt reaſon to fear, that they ſhould not be able to defend *Shaizar*, not ſuperior to thoſe Places, either in Strength of its Situation, or Number of its Soldiers. The Governour held out obſtinately, and gave them a great deal of reproachful Language, ſwearing and curſing them, and commanded his Servants to ſtrike ſome of them. The chief Men,

Men, provoked at this tyrannical Uſage, drew their Swords, and fell upon him and his Party. Having made a quick Diſpach of them, they opened the Gates, and ſurrendered to *Abu Obeidah*, who received them very gladly, and gave them hearty Thanks for ſaving him the Trouble of Fighting: adding, *That ſince they had behaved themſelves ſo well, and expreſſed ſuch a Deſire of living under the Government of the Saracens, he would not diſmiſs them without ſome diſtinguiſhing Mark of his Favour.* Upon which he told them, *That he would not force any of them to change their Religion againſt their Will, nor put them to any Extremities; but if any of them would come in of their own accord, they ſhould pay no Tax or Cuſtom, as other Mahometans did, for two Years. If they choſe to continue in their old Religion, they ſhould pay no Tribute for the ſpace of one Year.* Omar. Alwâkidi.

Shaizar was now taken into Poſſeſſion, and *Abu Obeidah* reminded his Muſlemans, that they were no longer under any Obligation to the People of *Hems*, having punctually performed whatever they had promiſed them. The Governour of *Hems* was not ſo well ſatisfied, for as ſoon as the Saracen Army came to appear before the City, he ſent a Meſſenger to expoſtulate with *Abu Obeidah* concerning his Perfidy and Breach of Promiſe: Who gave him no other

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other Anſwer, than that he deſired thoſe Clergy who had made the Agreement with him firſt ſhould come to him again, and let themſelves be Judges whether or no he had fulfill'd his Promiſe to a Tittle. Upon their coming, he aſked them, *Did not I make an Agreement with you, to leave* Hems, *till I had conquered ſome other City of* Syria? *And, was it not left to my Liberty after that, either to go to any other Place, or to return to you?* When this could not be denied, *Well then*, anſwered he, *ſince we have conquered* Arreſtân *and* Shaizar, *we are under no further Obligation to you, and there remains nothing, but that you ſurrender.*

There being no Remedy left, nor any one whom they might juſtly blame but themſelves, for not having taken better Care at firſt, they prepared to fight. The Inhabitants, though not a little diſheartened when they reflected upon their Scarcity of Proviſion, to which their unſeaſonable Credulity had expoſed them; encouraged by their Governour, reſolved to try their Fortune in the Field. That Evening they went to Prayers, to implore the Divine Aſſiſtance, the Governour himſelf receiving the Communion at St. *George*'s Church, (ſince turned into a Moſque.) When he came back, he eat for his Supper a whole roaſted Kid, and ſat up drinking Wine all Night. Thus prepared for Battle,

Battle, having put on very rich Cloaths, he ſallied out in the Morning at the Head of five Thouſand Horſe, compleatly armed, all Men of approv'd Courage, and reſolv'd to die for the Defence of their Country. And though the *Saracens* came out againſt them with a much greater Number, yet they nevertheleſs ſtood their Ground, without the leaſt Expreſſion of Fear or Concern. The Chriſtian Archers galled the Saracens terribly with poiſoned Arrows, and charged them with ſuch Courage, that they were forced to give way. Whilſt *Caled* was labouring to reſtore the Battle, he made a very narrow Eſcape; for, engaging with one of the *Greeks*, his Sword broke in his Hand: Upon which, cloſing with his Adverſary, he ſqueezed him ſo cloſe to him, that he broke his Ribs, and threw him down dead off from his Horſe. About Noon, *Mirkâl* and *Meiſarah* made an Impreſſion upon the Right Wing of the Chriſtians, and *Kais Ebn Hobeirah* upon the Left. But among all the *Saracens*, none ſignalized himſelf ſo much that Day as *I'krimah*, *Caled*'s Couſin: He, thirſting after the imaginary Joys of *Mahomet*'s Fools Paradiſe, cried out aloud, *Methinks I ſee the black-eyed Girls looking upon me, one of which, if ſhe ſhould appear in this World, all Mankind would die for the Love of her. And I ſee in the Hand of one of them an Hand-*

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kerchief of green Silk, and a Cup made of precious Stones, and ſhe beckons me, and calls out, Come hither quickly, for I love thee. With theſe Words charging the Chriſtians, he made Havock where he went, till obſerved at laſt by the Governour of *Hems*, he was ſtuck through with a Javelin. When Night parted them, the *Saracens* returned to their Camp, having had the worſt of it all that Day. *Caled*, aſſuring himſelf that this Succeſs would eaſily induce the *Greeks* to believe the Saracens afraid of them, perſwaded *Abu Obeidah* to fly before them the next Morning, to draw them into Diſorder. Nor did this Advice fail of the deſired Succeſs; for the *Greeks* had beaten them too well the Day before, to entertain the leaſt Suſpicion that their Flight was feigned. Whereupon, purſuing them unwarily, and out of Order, they were about Noon ſurrounded by the returning *Saracens*; *Who*, to uſe my Author's own Expreſſion, *fell upon them like Eagles upon a Carcaſe*. Some of the *Greeks* had ventured to plunder the *Saracens* Tents; but whilſt they were differently employed, ſome in the Purſuit, others in the Spoil, the far greater part of them were intercepted by the *Saracens*; nor had any of them eſcaped, unleſs relieved by ſome of the Beſieged ſallying from the City. The Governour fell among the reſt, eaſily diſtinguiſhed by his

his red Face, large Size, and rich Apparel, perfumed with Muſk. This Defeat determined the Beſieged to ſurrender; but the *Saracens*, who having heard ſo often of the Emperor's Preparation againſt them, expected a bloody Battle daily, had no leiſure to ſtay and take Poſſeſſion, nor any Man to ſpare by way of Garriſon: Wherefore they took the Chriſtians at their Word, and never a Man of them went into the City, till after the great Battle of *Yermouk*, which determined the Fate of *Syria*, and put the *Saracens* out of all Fear of ever meeting from the Emperor the like Oppoſition. The *Saracens* departed from *Hems*, having loſt that Day two hundred and thirty five Men. The Chriſtians burying their Dead, found them above one Thouſand ſix hundred. Omar. Alwákidi.

HERACLIUS, wearied with a conſtant and uninterrupted Succeſſion of Meſſengers of ill News; which, like thoſe of *Job*, came every Day treading one upon the Heels of another; grieved at the Heart to ſee the *Roman* Empire, once the Miſtreſs of the World, now become the Scorn and Triumph of *Barbarian* Inſolence; reſolved, if poſſible, to put an End to the Outrages of the *Saracens* once for all; and, in order to it, raiſed ſuch an Army out of all Parts of his Dominions, as, ſince the firſt Invaſion of the *Saracens*, had never appeared in *Syria* before.

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Not much unlike one engaged in ſingle Combat, who, diſtruſtful of his own Abilities, and fearing the worſt, ſummons together his whole Strength, in hopes of ending the Diſpute with one determining Stroke. Forces were ſent to all defenſible Places, which this Inundation of the *Saracens* had as yet left untouched: Particularly to *Cæſarea*, and all the Sea-coaſt of *Syria*; as *Tyre* and *Sidon*, *Accah*, *Joppa*, *Tripolis*, *Beirout*, and *Tiberias*, beſides another Army to defend *Jeruſalem*. But the main Body of all, which was deſigned to give Battle to the whole Forces of the *Saracens*, was commanded by one *Mahân*, an *Armenian*, whom I take to be the very ſame that the *Greek* Hiſtorians call *Manuel*. When the Emperor had given the Generals his beſt Advice, and charged them to behave themſelves like Men, and eſpecially to take Care that there was no Differences nor Diſſentions among themſelves; He aſked them what ſhould be the Reaſon of this ſurprizing Succeſs of the *Arabs*, inferior to the *Greeks* both in Number, Strength, Arms and Diſcipline? After a ſhort Silence, a grave Man ſtood up, and told him, *That the Reaſon was, becauſe the Greeks had walked unworthy of their Chriſtian Profeſſion, and changed their Religion from what it was when* Jeſus Chriſt *firſt delivered it to them, injuring and oppreſſing one another, taking Uſury, committing*

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Fornication, and fomenting Strife and Variance among themſelves. And indeed the Vices of theſe Chriſtians were at that time ſo flagrant, as to make them ſtink in the Noſtrils of the very *Infidels*, [1] confeſſed by the *Greek* Writers themſelves, and aggravated by the *Arabick* ones. The Emperor anſwered, *That he was too ſenſible of it*; adding, *That he had Thoughts of continuing with them there no longer; but leaving his Army to their Management, would withdraw himſelf to* Conſtantinople. In anſwer to which, they repreſented to him, how much his Departure would reflect upon his Honour, what a leſſening it would be to him in the Eyes of his own Subjects, and what occaſion of Triumph it would afford to his Enemies the *Saracens*. Upon this they took their Leave, and prepared for their March: *Mahân*, beſides a vaſt Army of *Aſiatics* and *Europeans*, having joined to him *Jabalah Ebno'l Ayham*, King of the Chriſtian Arabs, who had under him ſixty Thouſand Men. Theſe *Mahân* commanded to march always in the Front, ſaying, *There was nothing like Diamond to cut Diamond.* This great Army, raiſed for the Defence of Chriſtian People, was

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[1] Οὑτῶ δὲ ἡ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τότε ὑπὸ τε τῶν βασιλίων ἡ τῶν δυσσεβῶν Ἰεριῶν ταραττομένης, ἀνέστη ὁ ἐρήμικος Ἀμαλὴκ τύπλων ἡμᾶς τὸν λαὸν τῦ Χριστῦ, ἡ γίνεται πρῶτη φόρα πτώσις τῦ ῥωμαϊκῦ Στρατῦ, ἡ κατὰ τὸ Γαβιθὰν λίγω ἡ Ἱερμυχὰν ἡ τὴν ἄθεσμον αἰχμαλωσίαν. *Theophan.* p. 276.

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little leſs inſupportable than the Saracens themſelves, committing all manner of Diſorder and Outrage as they paſſed along, eſpecially when they came to any of thoſe Places which had made any Agreement with the Saracens, or ſurrendered to them, they ſwore and curſed, and reviled the Inhabitants with reproachful Language, and compelled them by Force to bear them Company. The poor People excuſed their Submiſſion to the Saracens, by their Inability to defend themſelves, and told the Soldiers, that if they did not approve of what they had done, they ought themſelves to have come ſooner to their Relief.

The News of this great Army having reached the Saracens Ears, whilſt they were at *Hems*, filled them full of Apprehenſions, and put them to a very great Streight which way to manage in this critical Juncture. Some of them would very willingly have ſhrunk back, and returned to *Arabia*: In which they propoſed to themſelves a double Advantage, ſpeedy Aſſiſtance from their Friends, and the great Scarcity to which the numerous Army of the Enemy muſt needs be reduced in that barren Country; but *Abu Obeidah* fearing leſt ſuch a Retreat might by the *Caliph* be interpreted Cowardice in him, durſt not approve of this Advice. Others rather choſe to die in the Defence of

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thoſe ſtately Buildings, fruitful Fields, and pleaſant Meadows they had won by the Sword, than retire Volunteers to their former ſtarving Condition; and propoſed to ſtay there where they were, and expect the Approach of the Enemy. *Caled* was not for ſtaying there, it being too near *Cæſarea*, where *Conſtantine* the Emperor's Son lay with forty thouſand Men; but propoſed to march to *Yermouk*, where they might expect Aſſiſtance from the *Caliph*. As ſoon as *Conſtantine* heard of their Departure, he ſent a chiding Letter to *Mahân*, and bad him mend his Pace. *Mahân* advanced, but made no haſt to give the Saracens Battle, having received Orders from the Emperor to make Overtures of Peace, which were no ſooner propoſed than rejected by *Abu Obeidah*. There paſſed ſeveral Meſſages between them. The Saracens endeavouring to bring their Countryman *Jabalah Ebno'l Ayham*, with his Chriſtian Arabs, to a Neutrality, were anſwered, that they were obliged to ſerve the Emperor, and reſolved to fight. Upon this, *Caled*, contrary to the Advice of all, prepared to give him Battle firſt, before *Mahân* ſhould come up, with a very inconſiderable Number of Men, picked out of the whole Army; urging that the *Chriſtians* being the Army of the Devil, had no Advantage by their Numbers againſt the Omar. Alwâkidi.

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Saracens, the Army of God. It was obſerved, that *Caled* in chooſing his Men, called out more [1]*Anſers* than [2]*Mohagarens*, which occaſioned ſome grumbling among them, being in doubt whether it was becauſe he reſpected them moſt, or becauſe he had a Mind to expoſe them to the greateſt Danger, that he might favour the others: A very impertinent Scruple, in my Opinion, ſince he was to go with them himſelf. *Caled* told them, that he had choſen them without any ſuch regard, only becauſe they were Perſons he could depend upon, whoſe Valour he had proved, and who had the Faith rooted in their Hearts. One *Cathib* happening to be called after his Brother *Sahal*, looking upon himſelf to be the better Man, reſented it as an high Affront, and abuſed *Caled*, who gave him very gentle modeſt Anſwers, to the great Satisfaction of all, eſpecially *Abu Obeidah*, who, after a ſhort Contention, made them ſhake Hands. *Caled* indeed was admirable for this, that he knew no leſs how to govern his Paſſions, than command an Army; the latter of which proves to moſt great Generals the

[1] Thoſe of *Medinah* are called by that Name, becauſe they helped *Mahomet* in his Flight from *Meccah*.

[2] Thoſe that fled with him are called *Mohagerins*; and by theſe Names the Inhabitants of *Meccah* and *Medinah* are often diſtinguiſhed, as has been obſerved in the beginning of this Book.

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eaſier Taſk of the two. His Succeſs in this very hazardous Undertaking was beyond all Expectation, for he put *Jabalah*'s *Arabs* into Diſorder, and killed a great many, loſing very few of his own upon the Spot, and five Priſoners, three of which were *Yezid Ebn Abi Sophyan*, *Raphi Ebn Omeirah*, and *Derar Ebno'l Azwar*; all Men of great Note, and frequently mentioned before. *Abu Obeidah* ſent *Abdo'llah Ebn Kort* with an Expreſs to *Omar*, acquainting him with their whole Circumſtances, begging his Prayers, and ſome freſh Recruits of [3] *UNITARIANS*, a Title they glory in, reckoning themſelves the only Aſſerters of the Unity of the Deity. *Omar* and the whole Court were extremely ſurpriſed, but comforted themſelves with the Promiſes made to them in the *Alcoran*, which ſeemed now to be all they had left to truſt to. To encourage the People, he went into the Pulpit, and ſhewed them the Excellency of fighting for the Cauſe of God, and returned an Anſwer to *Abu Obeidah*, full of ſuch ſpiritual Conſolation as the *Alcoran* could afford. *Omar* commanded *Abdo'llah*, that as ſoon as ever he came near the Camp, before he delivered the Letter, he ſhould cry out, *Good News*, to comfort the Muſlemans, and eaſe them in ſome meaſure of thoſe perplexing

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[3] Arab. *Mowahhidîna*.

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Apprehenſions they laboured under. He having received his Letter and Meſſage, together with *Omar*'s Bleſſing, ſet forwards on his Journey towards the Army; but recollecting himſelf, he remembered that he had forgot to pay his Reſpects at *Mahomet*'s Tomb, which whether or no he ſhould ever ſee again, was very uncertain: Upon which he haſtens to *Ayeſha*'s Houſe, (the Place where *Mahomet* was buried) and finds her ſitting by the Tomb, with *Ali* and *Abbâs*, and *Haſan* and *Hoſein*, (*Ali*'s Sons) one upon *Ali*'s Lap, the other upon *Abbas*'s. *Ali* was reading the Chapter of *Beaſts*, being the ſixth of the *Alcoran*; and *Abbâs* the Chapter of *Hud*, which is the eleventh. *Abdo'llah* having paid his Reſpects to *Mahomet*, *Ali* aſked him, whether he did not think of going? He anſwered, Yes; but he feared he ſhould not get to the Army before the Battle, which he willingly would do, if poſſible. *If you deſired a ſpeedy Journey*, (anſwered *Ali*) *why did not you aſk* Omar *to pray for you? Don't you know, that the Prayers of* Omar *will not be turned back? Becauſe the Apoſtle of God ſaid of him.* "If there were a "Prophet to be expected after me, it would be "*Omar*, whoſe Judgment agrees with the "Book of God. *The Prophet ſaid of him beſides*, "If an [univerſal] Calamity were to deſcend from

" from Heaven upon Mankind, *Omar* would " eſcape from it." *Wherefore if* Omar *prayed for thee, thou ſhalt not ſtay long for an Anſwer from God. Abdo'llah* told him, *That he had not ſpoken one Word in Praiſe of* Omar, *but what he was very ſenſible of before, only he deſired to have his Prayers and thoſe of the reſt of the Muſlemans added too, eſpecially being at the Tomb of the Prophet.* All that were preſent lifting up their Hands to Heaven, *Ali* ſaid, *O God! I beſeech thee, for the ſake of this choſen Apoſtle (in whoſe Name* Adam *prayed, and thou anſweredſt his Petition, and forgaveſt his Sins) that thou wouldeſt grant to* Abdo'llah Edn Kort *a ſafe and ſpeedy Return, and aſſiſt the Followers of thy Prophet with Help, O thou who alone art great and munificent!* Immediately he ſet forth, and returned to the Camp with ſuch incredible ſpeed, that the *Saracens* there were ſurpriſed. But their Admiration ceaſed, when he informed them of *Omar*'s Bleſſing, and *Ali*'s Prayers at *Mahomet*'s Tomb. Omar. Alwákidi.

Recruits were inſtantly raiſed to ſend out of *Arabia* to the Army. *Saïd Ebn Amir* commanded them, having received a Flag of red Silk at the Hands of *Omar*, who told him that he gave him that Commiſſion in hopes of his behaving himſelf well in it; adviſing him, among other things, not to follow his Appetites;

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not forgetting to put him in hopes of further Encouragement, if he ſhould deſerve it. *Saïd* thanked him for his Advice; adding, that if he followed it, he ſhould be ſaved. *And now* (ſays *Saïd*) *as you have adviſed me, ſo let me adviſe you. Speak on*, ſays *Omar*, *I bid you then*, (added the other) *fear God more than Men, and not the contrary; and love all the Muſlemans as your ſelf and your Family, as well thoſe at a Diſtance, as thoſe near you. And command that which is Praiſe-worthy, and forbid that which is otherwiſe. Omar*, all the while he ſpoke, ſtood looking ſtedfaſtly upon the Ground, leaning his Forehead upon his Staff. Then he lift up his Head, and the Tears ran down his Cheeks, and he ſaid, *Who is able to do this without the Divine Aſſiſtance? Ali* bad *Saïd* make good uſe of the *Caliph*'s Advice, and diſmiſſed him. *Saïd* marching towards the Army loſt his Way, unfortunately for the Chriſtians; for by that means he happened upon the Prefect of *Amman* with five thouſand Men. *Saïd* cut all the Foot to Pieces; the Prefect flying with the Horſe, was intercepted by a Party ſent out from the Saracen Camp to forage. *Saïd* at firſt thought they had fallen together by the Ears among themſelves, but when he came up, and heard the *Tecbîr*, he was well ſatisfyed. *Zobeir* thruſt the Prefect through with a Lance; of the reſt never

never a Man eſcaped. The *Saracens* cut of all their Heads, then flayed them, and ſo carried them upon the Points of their Lances, preſenting a moſt horrible Spectacle to all that part of the Country, till they came to the Army, which received new Courage, by the Acceſſion of this Recruit ſent from the *Caliph*, conſiſting of eight thouſand Men. Omar. Alwâkidi.

However their Satisfaction was very much allayed by the Loſs of thoſe five Priſoners, which *Jabalah Ebno'l Ayham* had taken. It fortuned that *Mahân* deſired *Abu Obeidah* to ſend ſome body to him to diſcourſe with; which being granted, *Caled* profered his Service, and by *Abu Obeidah's* Advice took along with him an hundred choſen Men, of the beſt Soldiers in the Army. Being met by the Out-Guards, the Chief of which was *Jabalah Ebno'l Ayham*, and examined, they were ordered to ſtay there till the General's Pleaſure ſhould be known. *Mahân* would have had *Caled* come to him alone, and leave his Men behind him: Which he refuſing, they were commanded, when they came near, to alight from their Horſes, and deliver their Swords; to which when they would not ſubmit, they were at laſt permitted to enter as they pleaſed. They found *Mahân* ſitting upon a Throne, and there were Seats prepared for them. But they refuſed to ſit on them, and removing

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moving them, ſat down upon the Ground. *Mahân* aſked them the Reaſon of their doing ſo, and taxed them with want of Breeding. To which *Caled* anſwered, *That that was the beſt Breeding which was from God, and what God has prepared for us to ſit down upon, is purer than your Tapeſtries*; defending their Practice from a Sentence of their Prophet *Mahomet*, backed with this Text of the *Alcoran*, [5] *Out of it*, (meaning the Earth) *we have created you, and to it we ſhall return you, and out of it we ſhall bring you another time. Mahân* began then to expoſtulate with *Caled*, concerning their coming into *Syria*, and all thoſe Hoſtilites which they had committed there; but the Account is too tedious to be inſerted, eſpecially ſince I have before given an Account of ſome Conferences much of the ſame Nature. Only this may be obſerved, that *Mahân* ſeemed ſatisfyed with *Caled*'s way of talking, and ſaid, that he had before that time entertained a quite different Opinion of the *Arabs*, having been informed that they were a fooliſh ignorant People. *Caled* confeſſed, that that was the Condition of moſt of them, till God ſent their Prophet *Mahomet* to lead them into the right Way, and teach them to diſtinguiſh Good from Evil, and Truth from Error. Sometimes they argu-

[5] *Alcoran*, Chap. XX. 57.

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ed very cooly, and then again flew into a violent Paſſion, till at laſt *Caled* told *Mahân*, that he ſhould one Day ſee him led with a Rope about his Neck to *Omar*, to be beheaded. *Mahân* told him, that the received Law of all Nations ſecured Ambaſſadors from Violence, which he ſuppoſed had encouraged him to take that indecent Freedom; however he was reſolved to chaſtize his Inſolence in the Perſons of his Friends the five Priſoners, who ſhould inſtantly be beheaded. *Caled* bid him attend, and ſwore by God, by *Mahomet*, and the holy Temple of *Meccah*, that if he killed them, he ſhould die by his Hands, and every *Saracen* preſent ſhould kill his Man, let the Conſequences be what they would; and immediately roſe from his Place, and drew his Sword. The like did all the reſt of the *Saracens*. But when *Mahân* told him that he would not meddle with him for the aforeſaid Reaſons, they ſheathed their Swords, and talked calmly again; after which *Mahân* made *Caled* a Preſent of the Priſoners, and deſired him to give him his Scarlet Tent, which *Caled* had brought with him, and pitched hard by. *Caled* freely gave it him, and refuſed to take any thing, (though *Mahân* gave him his Choice of whatever he liked beſt) thinking his Kindneſs abundantly recompenſed in the reſtoring the Priſoners.

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Both ſides now prepared for that Fight which was to determine the Fate of *Syria*. The Particulars are too tedious to be related, for they continued Fighting ſeveral Days. *Abu Obeidah* reſigned the whole Command of the Army to *Caled*, ſtanding himſelf in the Rear, under the yellow Flag, which *Abubeker* had given him at his firſt ſetting forth into *Syria*; being the ſame which *Mahomet* himſelf had fought under at the Battle of *Chaibar*. That was judged by *Caled* the propereſt Place for him, not only becauſe he was no extraordinary Soldier, but that the Reverence of him might prevent the Flight of the *Saracens*, who were now like to be as hard put to it, as at any time ſince they firſt bore Arms. For the ſame Reaſon the Women were placed in the Rear. The *Greeks* charged ſo courageouſly, and with ſuch vaſt Numbers, that the Right Wing of the *Saracen* Horſe was quite born down, and broken off from the main Body of the Army. But no ſooner did they turn their Backs, but they were ſo warmly received by the Women, who uſed them ſo ill, and loaded them with ſuch Plenty of Reproaches, that they were glad to return every Man to his Poſt, and choſe rather to face the Enemy, than endure the Storm. However they had much ado to bear up; and were preſſed ſo hard by the *Greeks*, that they were ſometimes obliged to forget

forget what their Generals had ſaid a little before the Fight, who told them, *That Paradiſe was before them, and the Devil and Hell-fire behind them.* *Abu Sophyan*, who had uſed that very Expreſſion himſelf, was forced to retreat, and received from one of the Women an hearty Blow over the Face with a Tent-pole for his Pains. Night at laſt parted them, about ſuch time as the Victory began to encline to the *Saracens*, who had been thrice beaten back, and as often reſtored by the Women. Then *Abu Qbeidah* ſaid at once thoſe Prayers which belonged to two ſeveral Hours; I ſuppoſe becauſe his Men ſhould have the more time to reſt, which he was very tender of; walking about the Camp, looking after the wounded Men, and oftentimes binding up their Wounds with his own Hands; telling them, *That their Enemies ſuffered the ſame Pain which they did, but had not that Reward to expect from God which they had.* Omar. Alwákidi.

Among other ſingle Combats, of which there were ſeveral fought between the two Armies; it chanced that *Serjabil Ebn Shahhnah* was engaged with an Officer of the Chriſtians, who was much too ſtrong for him. The Reaſon our Author aſſigns, is, becauſe *Serjabil* was wholly given up to Watching and Faſting. *Derar* thought he ought not to ſtand ſtill and ſee the

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Prophet's Secretary killed; and took his Dagger, whilſt the Combatants were over Head and Ears in Duſt, and coming behind the Chriſtian, ſtabbed him to the Heart. The *Saracens* gave *Derar* Thanks for his Service; but he ſaid that he would receive no Thanks but from God. Upon this there aroſe a Difference between *Serjabil* and *Derar* concerning the Spoil of this Officer. *Derar* claimed it, as being the Perſon that killed him. *Serjabil*, as having engaged him, and tired him out firſt. The Matter being referred to *Abu Obeidah*, he propoſed the Caſe to the Caliph, concealing the Names of the Perſons concerned; who ſent him word, that the Spoil of any Enemy was due to him that killed him: Upon which *Abu Obeidah* took it from *Serjabil*, and adjudged it to *Derar*.

Another Day, the Chriſtian Archers did ſuch Execution, that beſides thoſe Saracens which were killed, and wounded in other Parts, there were ſeven hundred which loſt each of them one or both of their Eyes; upon which Account, the Day in which that Battle was fought is called *Yaumo'ttéwîr*, *The Day of Blinding*: And if any of thoſe that loſt their Eyes that Day, were afterwards aſked by what Miſchance he was blinded? He anſwered, that it was not a *Miſchance*, but a Token of Favour from God; for they gloried as much in thoſe Wounds they received

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in the Defence of their Superſtition, as our Enthuſiaſts do in what they call Perſecution, and with much the ſame Reaſon. *Abdo'llah Ebn Kort*, who was preſent in all the Wars in *Syria*, ſays, that he never ſaw ſo hard a Battle as that which was fought on that Day at *Yermouk*; and though the Generals fought moſt deſperately, yet after all they had been beaten, if the Battle had not again been reſtored by the Women. *Caulah*, *Derar*'s Siſter, was wounded and fell down. *Opheirah* revenged her Quarrel, and ſtruck off the Man's Head that did it; and aſking her how ſhe did, ſhe anſwered, *Very well with God, but a dying Woman.* However, ſhe proved to be miſtaken, for in the Evening ſhe was walking about as if ſhe had ailed nothing, and looking after the wounded Men. Omar. Alwákidi.

The *Greeks* in the Night had another Calamity added to their Misfortune of loſing the Victory, drawn upon them by their own inhuman Barbarity. There was at *Yermouk* a Gentleman of a very plentiful Fortune, who had removed from *Hems* thither for the Sweetneſs of the Air. When *Mehân*'s Army came thither, this Gentleman uſed to entertain the Officers, and treat them nobly. To requite him for his Courteſy, whilſt they were revelling at his Houſe, they bad him bring out his Wife to them; which he refuſing, they took her by

Force,

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[1] Καὶ ἰαυλὺς Βάλλονῆς εἰς τὰς τιτόδυς τῦ Ιερμόχθυ πολαμῦ ἐκεῖ ἀπώλονῆο ἄρδην. *Theoph.* p. 280.

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ſhattered to Pieces, he was forced to fly, and leave the Saracens Maſters of the Field, now quite delivered from thoſe terrible Apprehenſions, which the News of this great Preparation had filled them with at firſt. Omar. Alwâkidi.

A ſhort time after *Abu Obeidah* wrote to the *Caliph* the following Letter.

In the Name of the moſt merciful God, &c.

This is to acquaint thee, that I encamped at Yermouk, *and* Mahân *was near us, with ſuch an Army as the Muſlemans never beheld a greater; but God overthrew this Multitude, and gave us the Victory over them, out of his abundant Grace and Goodneſs. We killed of them about an hundred and fifty thouſand, and took forty thouſand Priſoners. Of the Muſlemans were killed four thouſand and thirty, to whom God has decreed the Honour of Martyrdom. I found ſome Heads cut off, not knowing whether they belonged to the Muſlemans or Chriſtians, and I prayed over them and buried them.* Mahân *was afterwards killed at* Damaſcus *by* Nomân Ebn Alkamah. *There was one* Abu Joaîd, *that belonged to them before the Battle, that came from* Hems, *he drowned of them a great Number, unknown to any but God. As for thoſe that fled into the Deſerts and Mountains, we have deſtroyed them all, and ſtopped all the Roads and Paſſages, and God has made*

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us Maſters of their Country, and Wealth, and Children. Written after the Victory from Damaſcus, *where I ſtay expecting thy Orders concerning the Diviſion of the Spoil. Fare thee well, and the Mercy and Bleſſing of God be upon thee, and all the Muſlemans.*

Omar, in a ſhort Letter, expreſſed his Satisfaction, and gave the Saracens Thanks for their Perſeverance and Diligence; commanding *Abu Obeidah* to continue where he was till further Orders, but mentioned nothing concerning the Spoil: Upon which *Abu Obeidah* looking upon it as left to his own Diſcretion, divided it, without ſtaying for further Orders. To an Horſeman he gave thrice as much as to a Footman, and made a farther Difference between thoſe Horſes which were of the right *Arabian* Breed, (which they looked upon to be far the beſt) and thoſe that were not, allowing twice as much to the former as to the latter; with which Diviſion they not being ſatisfied, *Abu Obeidah* told them, that the Prophet did the ſame after the Battle of *Chaibar*; which, upon Appeal made to *Omar*, was by him confirmed. *Zobeir* had at the Battle of *Yermouk* two Horſes, which he uſed to ride by turns: He received five Lots, three for himſelf, and two for his Horſes. If any Slaves had run away from their Maſters before the Battle, and were afterwards retaken, they were reſtored

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to their proper Maſters, who nevertheleſs received an equal Share of the Spoil with the reſt.

The Saracens having reſted a Month at *Damaſcus*, and refreſhed themſelves, *Abu Obeidah* ſent to *Omar*, to know whether he ſhould go to *Cæſarea* or *Jeruſalem*. *Ali* being preſent when *Omar* was deliberating, ſaid, to *Jeruſalem* firſt; adding, that he had heard the Prophet ſay as much. This City they had a great Longing after, as being the Seat and Burying-place of a great many of the ancient Prophets, in whom they reckoned none to be ſo much intereſted as themſelves. *Abu Obeidah* having received Orders to beſiege it, ſent *Yezid Ebn Abi Sofyan* thither firſt, with five thouſand Men; and for five Days together ſent after him conſiderable Numbers of Men, under ſuch Officers as he thought fit to appoint. The *Ieresolymites* expreſſed no Signs of Fear, nor would they vouchſafe ſo much as to ſend out a Meſſenger to parley, but made Preparation for a vigorous Defence, and planted their Engines upon the Walls. *Yezid* at laſt went near the Walls, with an Interpreter, to know their Minds, and propoſe the uſual Terms; which being rejected, the Saracens would willingly have aſſaulted the Beſieged, had not *Yezid* told them, that the General had not commanded them to make any

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Aſſault, but only to ſit down before the City; and thereupon ſent to *Abu Obeidah*, who forthwith gave them Order to fight. The next Morning the Generals ſaid the Morning Prayer, each at the Head of his Men; and, as it were with one Conſent, it ſeems every one of them quoted this Verſicle out of the *Alcoran*, as being very appoſite and pertinent to their preſent Purpoſe, [1]*O People! enter ye into the holy Land which God hath decreed for you*; being the twenty fourth Verſe of the fifth Chapter of the *Alcoran*, where the Impoſtor intruduces *Moſes* ſpeaking to the Children of *Iſrael*: Which Words the Saracens dexterouſly interpreted to belong no leſs to themſelves, than to their Predeceſſors the *Iſraelites*. Nor have theſe Parts of the World been altogether deſtitute of ſuch able Expoſitors, who, whatever they find in Scripture graciouſly expreſſed in Favour of the People of God, apply to themſelves, without Limitation or Exception: Whatever is ſaid of the Wicked and Ungodly, and all the Terrors and Judgments denounced, with a liberal Hand they beſtow upon their Neighbours. After their Prayers were over, they began their Aſſault. The *Ieroſolymites* never flinched, but ſent them Showers of Arrows from the Walls, and maintained the Fight with undaunted Courage, till

1 *Alcoran*, Chap. V. 24.

the

the Evening. Thus they continued fighting ten Days, and on the eleventh, *Abu Obeidah* came up with the Remainder of the Army; he had not been there long, before he ſent the Beſieged the following Letter, which I have copied, not out of *Alwákidi*, but [3] the Author of the *Hiſtory of the Holy Land.* Omar. Alwákidi.

In the Name of the moſt merciful God.

From Abu Obeidah Ebn Aljerahh, *to the chief Commanders of the People of* Ælia, *and the Inhabitants thereof,* [4] Health and Happineſs to every one that follows the right way, *and believes in God and the Apoſtle. We require of you, to teſtify, That there is but one God, and* Mahomet *is his Apoſtle, and that there ſhall be a Day of Judgment, when God ſhall raiſe the Dead out of their Sepulchres; and when you have born Witneſs to this, it is unlawful for us either to ſhed you Blood, or meddle with your Subſtance or Children. If you refuſe this, conſent to pay Tribute, and be under us forthwith; otherwiſe I ſhall bring Men againſt you, who love Death better than You do the drinking of Wine, or eating Hogs Fleſh: Nor will I ever ſtir from you, if it pleaſe*

[3] *MSS. Arab. Pocock.* Num. 362. [4] *Alcoran*, Chap. XX. 49. They uſe it almoſt always when they write to Chriſtians; and ſo the King of *Fez* writes to our Princes of *Great Britain.*

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God, till I have deſtroyed thoſe that fight for you, and made Slaves of your Children.

The eating [1] Swines Fleſh, and [2] drinking Wine, are both forbidden in the *Alcoran*, which occaſioned that Reflection of *Abu Obeidah* upon the Practice of the Chriſtians. The former Prohibition is borrowed from the Jewiſh Law; and as for the latter, the Reader may ſee more in the [3] Life of *Mahomet*. The Beſieged, never a whit daunted, held out four Months entire; in all which ſpace, there did not one Day paſs without fighting; and it being Winter time, the Saracens ſuffered a great deal of Hardſhip through the Extremity of the Weather. At laſt, when the Beſieged had well conſidered the obſtinacy of the Saracens; who, they had good Reaſon to believe, would never raiſe the Siege till they had taken the City, whatever time it took up, or coſt them Pains; *Sophronius* the Patriarch went to the Wall, and by an Interpreter diſcourſed with *Abu Obeidah*, telling him, that *Jeruſalem* was the *Holy City*, and whoever came into the *Holy Land* with any hoſtile Intent, would render himſelf obnoxious to the Divine Diſpleaſure. To which *Abu Obeidah* anſwered, *We know that it is a noble City, and that our Prophet* Mahomet *went*

[1] *Alcoran*, Chap. II. 168. [2] *Alcoran*, Chap. V. 92. 93.
[3] Dr. *Prideaux*'s Life of *Mahomet*, p. 106.

from

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from it in [4] *one Night to Heaven, and approached within two Bows Shot of his Lord, or nearer; and that it is the Mine of the Prophets, and their Sepulchres are in it, and we are more worthy to have it in Poſſeſſion than you are; neither will we leave beſieging it, till God delivers it up to us, as he hath done other Places, before it.* I ſhall not here tranſcribe the Story of *Mahomet*'s Journey to Heaven; the Reader my find a ſufficient Account of it in the Learned Dr. *Prideaux*'s [5] *Life of* Mahomet. At laſt the Patriarch conſented that the City ſhould be ſurrendered, upon Condition that the Inhabitants ſhould receive the Articles of their Security and Protection from the *Caliph*'s own Hands, and not by Proxy. And their inſiſting upon this, I take to have been the principal Motive of *Omar*'s Coming; rather than believe a blind Story fabled by ſome *Arab.* Authors, of an old Prophecy kept in *Jeruſalem* concerning *Omar*; in which his Name and Religion were ſpecified, and his Perſon deſcribed, and that he was the only Man that could take *Jeruſalem*: Which, however ſtrange it may ſeem, is nevertheleſs not ſo abſurd and ridiculous as what they tell of *Sophronius*'s giving an Account of all this to *Abu Obeidah*, who thereupon ſent for *Omar*. I rather ſhould believe, that this

[4] *Alcoran*, Chap. XVII. 1. and LIII. 10. [5] P. 53.

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idle Story of the Prophecy may be better explained by *Theophanes*, who tells us, that when the City was taken, the Patriach ſaid, [6] *This is of a Truth the Abomination of Deſolation ſpoken of by* Daniel *the Prophet ſtanding in the Holy Place.* The Saracens hearing afterwards, that the Patriarch had confeſſed them to have been propheſied of, made the foregoing Story out of it. [7] *Jelalo'ddin Aſſoyúti* a celebrated *Arabick* Author, who, among other Works, has written an Hiſtory of *Jeruſalem*, confeſſes, that there is great Variety and Difference in the Accounts of the taking it: However, all agree in this, that *Omar* was there. The ſame *Jelalo'ddin* agrees with *Alwákidi*, where he tells us, that upon *Abu Obeidah*'s writing to *Omar* to come, he adviſed with his Friends. *Othman*, who afterwards ſucceeded him in the Government, diſſwaded him from going, that the *Ieresolymites* might ſee themſelves deſpiſed, and thought beneath his Notice; but *Ali* was of a quite different Opinion, urging that the Muſſelmans had endured great Hardſhip in ſo long a Siege, and ſuffered much from the Extremity of the Cold; that the Preſence of the *Caliph*

6 Τῦτον ἰδὼν Σωφόνιος ἔφη. τῦτ' ἐστιν ἐπ' ἀληθείας τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημόσεως τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ Δανιὴλ τῦ προφήτυ, ἑστὼς ἐν τόπῳ ἁγίῳ· Πολλοῖς δάκρυσι τὸ χριστιανὸν φύλον ἀπεδύρετο τῆς ἰυσεβείας ὁ πρόμαχος. *Theoph.* p. 281. Edit. Par. 7 *MSS.* Arab. *Huntington* Numb. 510.

would

would be a great Refreſhment and Encouragement to them; adding, that the great Reſpect which the Chriſtians had for *Jeruſalem*, as being the Place to which they went on Pilgrimage, ought to be conſidered; that it ought not to be ſuppoſed that they would eaſily part with it, but ſoon be reinforced with freſh Supplies. This Advice of *Ali* being preferred to *Othman*'s, the *Caliph* reſolved upon his Journey; which, according to his frugal Management, required no great Expence or Equipage. When he had ſaid his Prayers in the *Moſque*, and paid his Reſpects at *Mahomet*'s Tomb, he ſubſtituted *Ali* in his Place, and ſet forwards with ſome Attendance; the greateſt part of which, having kept him Company a little way, returned back to *Medinah*. He rode upon a red Camel, with a Couple of Sacks; in one of which he carried that ſort of Proviſion, which the *Arabs* call *Sawîk*, which is either Barly, Rice, or Wheat, ſodden and unhuſken; the other was full of Fruits. Before him he carried a very great Leather Bottle, (very neceſſary in thoſe deſart Countries to put Water in) behind him a large wooden Platter. Thus furniſhed and equipped, the *Caliph* travelled, and when he came to any Place where he was to reſt all Night, he never went from it till he had ſaid the Morning Prayer. After which, turning him-

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himſelf about to thoſe that were with him, he ſaid, *Praiſe be to God, who has ſtrengthened us with the true Religion, and given us his Prophet, and led us out of Error, and united us (who were at Variance) in the Confeſſion of the Truth, and given us the Victory over our Enemy, and the Poſſeſſion of his Country. O ye Servants of God! Praiſe him for theſe abundant Favours; for God gives Increaſe to thoſe that aſk for it, and are deſirous of thoſe things which are with him; and fulfils his Grace upon thoſe that are thankful.* Then filling his Platter with the *Sawîk*, he very liberally entertained his Fellow-Travellers, who did, without Diſtinction, eat with him all out of the ſame Diſh.

Whilſt he was upon his Journey, there came, at one of his Stages, a Complaint before him of a Man that had marryed two Wives, that were Siſters both by Father and Mother; a thing which the old *Arabians*, ſo long as they continued in their Idolatry, made no ſcruple of, as appears from that Paſſage in the *Alcoran*, where it is forbidden for the time to come, and expreſſed after ſuch a manner, as makes it evident to have been no uncommon Practice among them. *Omar* was very angry, and cited him and his two Wives to make their Appearance before him forthwith. After the Fellow had confeſſed that they were both his

Wives,

Wives, and ſo nearly related, *Omar* aſked him what Religion he might be of, or whether he was a *Muſleman? Yes*, ſaid the Fellow. *And did you not know then*, ſaid *Omar*, *that it was unlawful for you to have them, when God has ſaid*, [2] "Neither marry two Siſters any more." The Fellow ſwore, that he did know that it was unlawful, neither was it unlawful. *Omar* ſwore, he lyed, and that he would make him part with one of them, or elſe ſtrike his Head off. The Fellow began to grumble, and ſaid, *That he wiſhed he had never been of that Religion, for he could have done as well without it, and had never been a whit the better for it ſince he had firſt profeſſed it.* Upon which *Omar* called him a little nearer, and gave him two Blows upon the Crown with his Stick, to teach him better Manners, and learn him to ſpeak more reverently of *Mahometaniſm*; ſaying, *O thou Enemy of God, and of thy ſelf, doſt thou revile* [3] Iſlâm; *which is the Religion that God and his Angels, and Apoſtles, and the beſt of the Creation have choſen?* And threatened him ſeverely, if he did not make a quick Diſpatch, and take which of them he loved beſt. The Fellow was ſo fond of them both, that he could not tell

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[2] *Alcoran*, Chap. IV. 27. [3] That is the Word by which they expreſs what we call the Mahometan Religion; and ſignifies, *delivering a Man's ſelf up to God.*

which

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which he'd rather part with: Upon which ſome of *Omar*'s Attendants caſt Lots for the two Women. The Lot falling upon one of them three times, the Man took her, and was forced to diſmiſs the other. *Omar* called him to him, and ſaid, *Pray mind what I ſay to you; if any Man makes Profeſſion of our Religion, and then leaves it, we kill him; therefore ſee you do not renounce* Illâm. *And take heed to your ſelf, for if ever I hear that you lie with your Wife's Siſter, which you have put away, you ſhall be ſtoned.*

Paſſing on a little further, he happened to ſee ſome poor Tributaries, whom their hard Maſters, the *Saracens*, were puniſhing for Non-payment, by ſetting them in the Sun; which in that Torrid Zone is very grievous. When *Omar* underſtood the Cauſe of it, he aſked the poor People what they had to ſay for themſelves? Who anſwered, that they were not able. Upon which he ſaid, *Let them alone, and don't compel them to more than they are able to bear; for I heard the Apoſtle of God ſay, DO NOT afflict Men; for thoſe who afflict Men in this World, God ſhall puniſh them in Hell-Fire at the Day of Judgment.* And immediately commanded them to let them go.

Before he got to his Journey's End, he was informed of an old Man that ſuffered a young one

one to go Partner with him in his Wife; ſo that one of them was to have her four and twenty Hours, and then the other, and ſo ſucceſſively. *Omar* having ſent for them, and upon Examination found them to be Muſlemans, wondered at it, and aſked the old Man, if he did not know that it was forbidden by the Law of God? They both ſwore, that they knew no ſuch thing. *Omar* aſked the old Man, what made him conſent to ſuch a beaſtly thing? Who anſwered, that he was in Years, and his Strength failed him, and he had never a Son to look after his Buſineſs, and this young Man was very ſerviceable to him in watering and feeding his Camels, and he had recompenſed him that way; but ſince it was unlawful, he promiſed that it ſhould be ſo no more. *Omar* bid him take his Wife by the Hand, and told him, *That no body had any thing to do with her but himſelf: And for your part, young Man* (ſays he) *if ever I hear that you come near her again, off goes your Head.* Omar. Alwákidi.

Omar, having all the Way he went, ſet Things aright that were amiſs, and diſtributed Juſtice impartially, for which he was ſingularly eminent among the *Saracens*, came at laſt into the Confines of *Syria*, and when he drew near *Jeruſalem* he was met by *Abu Obeidah*, and conducted to the *Saracen* Camp with abundance

Omar. Alwâkidi. dance of Joy. He did not reach it the ſame Day *Abu Obeidah* met him. In the Morning he ſaid the uſual Prayers, and if we may take my Author's Word for it, preached a good Sermon. In which, as he quoted this Text out of the *Alcoran*; [6] *He whom God ſhall direct is led in the right Way; but thou ſhalt not find a Friend to direct him aright whom God ſhall lead into Error*, A Chriſtian Prieſt that ſat before him ſtood up, and ſaid, *God leads no Man into Error*; and repeated it. *Omar* ſaid nothing to him, but bid thoſe that ſtood by ſtrike his Head off if he ſhould ſay ſo again. The old Man underſtood what he ſaid, and held his Peace whilſt *Omar* proceeded in his Sermon.

Omar met with ſome of the *Saracens* richly dreſſed in Silks that they had taken by way of Plunder after the Battle of *Yermouk*. He ſpoiled all their Pride, for he cauſed them to be dragged along in the Dirt with their Faces downwards, and their Cloaths to be rent all to Pieces. As ſoon as he came within ſight of the City, he cry'd out, *Allàh Acbar: O God give us an eaſy Conqueſt*. Pitching his Tent, which was made of Hair, he ſat down in it upon the Ground. The Chriſtians hearing that *Omar* was come, from whoſe Hands they were to receive their Articles, were deſirous of ſeeing him.

[6] *Alcoran*, Chap. XVIII. 16.

Upon

Upon which the Muſlemans would have perſwaded him not to expoſe his Perſon, for fear of ſome treacherous Deſign. But *Omar* reſolutely anſwered, in the Words of the *Alcoran*; [2] *SAY, There ſhall nothing befall us but what God hath decreed for us; he is our Lord, and in God let all the Believers put their Truſt.* Afterwards upon Parley, the Beſieged reſigned, and becauſe thoſe Articles of Agreement made by *Omar* with the *Ieroſolymites* are, as it were, the Pattern which the *Mahometan* Princes have chiefly imitated, I ſhall not think it improper to give the Senſe of them in this Place, as I find it in the [3] Author of the Hiſtory of *Jeruſalem* (or the Holy Land) which I have mentioned before.

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The Articles were theſe; "*That the Chriſtians ſhould build no new Churches, either in the City, or the adjacent Territory: Neither ſhould they refuſe the Muſlemans Entrance into their Churches, either by Night or Day. That they ſhould ſet open the Doors of them to all Paſſengers and Travellers. If any Muſleman ſhould be upon a Journey, they ſhould be obliged to entertain him* gratis *the ſpace of three Days. That they ſhould not teach their Children the* Alcoran, *nor talk openly of their Religion, nor*

[2] *Alcoran*, Chap. IX. 51.

[3] M.S. Arab. Pocock. Num. 362.

"*perſwade*

Omar. Alwakidi.

" *perſwade any one to be of it; neither ſhould*
" *they hinder any of their Relations from becom-*
" *ing Mahometans, if they had an Inclination*
" *to it. That they ſhould pay Reſpect to the*
" *Muſlemans, and riſe up to them if they had a*
" *mind to ſit down, That they ſhould not go like*
" *the Muſlemans in their Dreſs; nor wear ſuch*
" *Caps, Shoes nor Turbants, nor part their Hair*
" *as they do, nor ſpeak after the ſame manner,*
" *nor be called by the ſame* [9] *Names uſed by the*
" *Muſlemans. Neither ſhould they ride upon Sad-*
" *dles, nor bear any ſort of Arms, nor uſe the*
" Arabick *Tongue in the Inſcriptions of their*
" *Seals: nor ſell any Wine. That they ſhould be*
" *obliged to keep to the ſame ſort of Habit where-*
" *ſoever they went, and always wear Girdles upon*
" *their Waſtes. That they ſhould ſet no Croſſes*
" *upon their Churches, nor ſhow their Croſſes nor*
" *their Books openly in the Streets of the Muſle-*
" *mans. That they ſhould not ring, but only toll*
" *their Bells. Nor take any Servant that had*
" *once belonged to the Muſlemans. Neither ſhould*
" *they overlook them in their Houſes. Some ſay,*
" *that* Omar *commanded the Inhabitants of* Je-
" ruſalem *to have the fore Parts of their Heads*
" *ſhaven, and obliged them to ride upon their*
" *Pannels ſideways, and not like the Muſlemans.*"

[9] Arab. *Kinàon, Cognomina.*

Upon

Omar.

Upon theſe Terms the Chriſtians had *Liberty of Conſcience*, paying ſuch Tribute as their Maſters thought fit to impoſe upon them; and *Jeruſalem*, once the Glory of the *Eaſt*, was forced to ſubmit to a heavier Yoke than ever it had born before. For though the Number of the Slain, and the Calamities of the Beſieged were greater when it was taken by the *Romans*; yet the Servitude of thoſe that ſurvived was nothing comparable to this, either in reſpect of the Circumſtances or Duration. For however it might ſeem to be utterly ruined and deſtroyed by *Titus*, yet was it very much recovered before *Adrian*'s Time. Now, it fell as it were, once for all, into the Hands of the moſt mortal Enemies of the Chriſtian Religion, in which it has continued ever ſince; excepting only that Interval of near ninety Years, in which it was poſſeſſed by the Chriſtians in the *Holy War*.

[4] The Chriſtians having ſubmitted to the Terms, *Omar* gave them the following Writing under his Hand.

In the Name of the moſt merciful God,

From Omar Ebno'l Alchitâb *to the Inhabitants of* Ælia. *They ſhall be protected and ſecured both in their Lives and Fortunes, and their Churches ſhall neither be pulled down, nor made uſe of by any but themſelves.*

[4] *Elmakin, Eutychius.*

Omar. Immediately upon this the Gates were opened, and the *Caliph* and thoſe that were with him went in. The Patriarch kept them Company, and the *Caliph* talked with him familiarly, and aſked him Queſtions concerning the Antiquities of the Place. Among other Places which they viſited, they went into the Temple of the *Reſurrection*, and *Omar* ſat down in the midſt of it. When the time of Prayers was come (the *Mahometans* have five ſet times of Prayer in a Day) *Omar* told the Patriarch, that he had a mind to pray, and deſired him to ſhow him a Place where he might perform his Devotion. The Patriarch bad him pray where he was; but he altogether refuſed it. Then he brought him out from thence, and went with him into *Conſtantine*'s Church, and laid a Matt for him; but he would not pray there. At laſt he went alone to the Steps which were at the Eaſt Gate of St. *Conſtantine*'s Church, and kneeled by himſelf upon one of them. Having ended his Prayers, he ſat down, and aſked the Patriarch if he knew why he had refuſed to pray in the Church; The Patriarch confeſſed that he could not tell what ſhould be the Reaſon of it. *Why then* (ſays *Omar*) *I will tell you. You know I promiſed you that none of your Churches ſhould be taken away from you, but*

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that

that you ſhould poſſeſs them quietly your ſelves. Now if I had prayed in any one of theſe Churches, I ſhould no ſooner have been gone from hence, but the Muſlemans would infallibly have taken it away from you. And notwithſtanding all you could have alledged, they would have ſaid, this is the Place where Omar *prayed, and we will pray here too. And ſo you would have been turned out of your Church, contrary both to my Intention and your Expectation. But becauſe my praying ſo much as upon the Steps may perhaps give ſome Occaſion to the Muſlemans to give you ſome Diſturbance; I ſhall take what Care I can to prevent that.* So he called for Pen, Ink and Paper, and wrote expreſly, *That none of the Muſlemans ſhould pray upon the Steps in any Multitudes, but one by one. That they ſhould never meet there to go to Prayers. And that the* Muèzzin, *or Crier, that calls the People to Prayers* (for the Mahometans never uſe Bells) *ſhould not ſtand there.* This Paper he gave to the Patriarch for a Security, leſt his praying upon the Steps of the Church ſhould have ſet ſuch an Example to the Muſlemans as might occaſion any Inconvenience to the Chriſtians. A noble Inſtance of ſingular Fidelity and religious Obſervation of Promiſe. This *Caliph* did not think it enough to perform what he engaged himſelf, but uſed all poſſible Diligence to oblige

Omar.

Omar. others to do ſo too. And when the unwary Patriarch had deſired him to pray in the Church, not well conſidering what might be the Conſequence; the *Caliph* well knowing how apt Men are to be ſuperſtitious in the Imitation of their Princes and great Men, eſpecially ſuch as they look upon to be Succeſſors of a Prophet, made the beſt Proviſion he could, that nothing which might be pretended to be done in Imitation of him, might any way infringe the Security he had already given.

[1] There goes a Story, that the *Caliph* deſired the Patriarch to aſſign him a Place where he might build a *Moſque* for the Celebration of the *Mahometan* Service; and that the Patriarch ſhewed him the Place where *Jacob*'s Stone lay, which he ſlept upon when he ſaw the [2]Viſion. It ſeems the Stone was quite covered with Dirt, and the *Caliph* took up as much as he could of it in his Veſt, and removed it. The Muſlemans perceiving what the *Caliph* did, very readily aſſiſted him; ſome filling their Bucklers, ſome their Veſts, others Baſkets; that in a ſhort time they had removed all the Rubbiſh and Dirt, and cleared the Stone [3].

[1] *Elmakin*, *Golius* his Notes upon *Alferganus*, pag. 137.
[2] *Geneſis* 28. [3] *Theoph.* p. 281. His Words are theſe, Εἰσελθὼν δὲ Ὀυμαρ εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν πόλιν τριχίνοις ἐκ καμήλων ἐνδύμασιν ἠμφιεσμένος ἐξυπτιμένοις, ὑπόκρισίν τι σατανικὴν ἐνδεικνύμενος, τὸν ναὸν ἐζήτησεν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἰδεῖν, ὃν ᾠκοδόμησε Σολομών, προσκυνήσων αὐτὸν ποιῆσαι τῆς αὐτῦ βλασφημίας.

Omar

Omar leaving the Churches to the Chriſtians, built a new Temple in the Place where *Solomon*'s formerly ſtood, and conſecrated it to the *Mahometan* Superſtition. From thence he went to *Bethlehem*, and going into the Church, prayed there; and when he had done, he gave the Patriarch, under his Hand, the ſame Security for the Church, as he had done before at *Jeruſalem*, ſtrictly forbidding any of the *Mahometans* to pray there, unleſs one ſingle Perſon at a time; and that no *Muézzin* ſhould ever call the People to Prayers there. But notwithſtanding all the *Caliph*'s Precaution, the *Saracens* afterwards ſeized the Church for their own Uſe; and ſo they did St. *Conſtantine*'s Church at *Jeruſalem*; for they took half the Porch where thoſe Steps were which *Omar* had prayed upon, and built a Moſque there, in which they included thoſe Steps: And had *Omar* ſaid his Prayers in the Body of the Church, they would without all queſtion have taken that too. Omar.

[9] This ſame Year in which *Jeruſalem* was was taken, *Saëd Ebn Abi Wakkàs*, one of *Omar*'s Captains, was making Havock in the Territories of *Perſia*. He went to *Madayen*, formerly the Treaſury and Magazine of *Coſroes*, King of *Perſia*; where they found Money and rich Furni-

[9] *Elmakîn, Hegirah*, 16. *A. D.* 637.

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ture of all ſorts, ineſtimable. *Elmakîn* ſays, that they took there no leſs than three thouſand Million of Ducats, beſides *Coſroës*'s Crown and Wardrobe, which was exceeding rich, his Cloaths being all adorned with Gold and Jewels of great Value. Then they opened the Roof of *Coſroës* his Porch, where they found another very conſiderable Sum. They plundered his Armory, well ſtored with all ſorts of Weapons. Among other things they brought to *Omar* a Piece of Silk Hangings, ſixty Cubits ſquare, all curiouſly wrought with Needle work. That it was of great Value, appears from the Price which *Ali* had for that Part of it which fell to his Share when *Omar* divided it; which though it was none of the beſt of it, yielded him twenty thouſand Pieces of Silver. After this, in the ſame Year, the *Perſians* were defeated by the *Saracens* in a great Battle near *Jaloûlah*. *Yazdejerd* perceiving things grow every day worſe and worſe, retired to *Ferganah*, a City of *Perſia*.

We muſt now proceed with the Conqueſt of *Syria*. *Omar* having taken *Jeruſalem*, continued there about ten Days, to put things in Order. Here my Author tells us a Story of one *Caab*, a *Jew*, who came to him to be proſelyted, and told, that his Father, who was thoroughly ſkilled in the Law of *Moſes*, had told him concerning *Mahomet*'s being the Seal of the Prophets,

phets, and that after him all Inſpiration was to ceaſe. Among other things, *Caab* aſked him what was ſaid concerning the *Mahometan* Religion in the *Alcoran*. *Omar* quoted ſuch Texts out of it as were ſuited to his Palate, as having been brought up a *Jew*; namely, [1] *Abraham commanded his Sons concerning it; and ſo did* Jacob; ſaying, *O Children! God has made Choice of a Religion for you*; [2] *wherefore do not die before you be Muſlemans.* Again, [3] *Abraham was neither a Jew nor Chriſtian, but a Religious Muſleman, and was not of the Number of thoſe who join Partners with God.* And then, [4] *He that ſhall deſire any other Religion but* Iſlam, *it ſhall not be accepted of him.* Again, [5] *Will they deſire any other than God's Religion, to whom every thing in Heaven and Earth* [6] *ſubmits it ſelf?* And then, [7] *The Religion of* Abraham *your Father: He gave you the Name of Muſlemans.* The *Rabbi* convinced with ſo many pregnant Texts, that the *Mahometan* Religion was no other than that of *Abraham* and the Patriarchs, repeated inſtantly, *La Ilaha*, &c. *There is but one God, and* Mahomet *is his Apoſtle. Omar* was very well pleaſed with his new Proſelyte, and invited him to go along with him to *Medinah*, to viſit the Prophet's Tomb, to which he con-

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[1] *Alcoran*, Chap. II. 126. [2] III. 96. [3] III. 60.
[4] III. 78. [5] III. 77. [6] Arab. *Aſlama.* [7] XXII. 77.

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ſented. I have inſerted this Story in the Place where I found it in my Author, becauſe I would not willingly omit any thing that might any way contribute to the illuſtrating the Manners or Religion of that People concerning whom I write: Notwithſtanding which, I have a ſtrong Suſpicion that this is the very ſame *Caab* who was proſelyted in *Mahomet*'s Time, above ten Years before *Omar* took *Jeruſalem*, and concerning whom the Reader may ſee a larger Account in the [8] *Life of* Mahomet. For our Authors are not always ſo very accurate; eſpecially thoſe who write the Hiſtories of the Beginnings of the *Saracenical* Empire.

Now *Omar* thought of returning to *Medinah*, having firſt diſpoſed his Affairs after the following manner. *Syria* he divided into two Parts; and committed all that lies between *Haurân* and *Aleppo* to *Abu Obeidah*, with Orders to make War upon it till he conquered it. *Yezid Ebn Abi Sofyan* took the Charge of all *Paleſtine* and the *Sea-ſhore*. *Amrou Ebno'l Aâs* was ſent to invade *Ægypt*, no inconſiderable Part of the Emperor's Dominions, which now mouldered away continually. The *Saracens* at *Medinah* had almoſt given *Omar* over; and began to conclude that he would never ſtir from *Jeruſalem*, conſidering the Richneſs of the Country, and

[8] P. 99.

the

the Sweetneſs of the Air; but eſpecially it being the Country of the Prophets, and the Holy Land, and the Place where we muſt all be ſummoned together at the Reſurrection. At laſt he came, ſo much the more welcome, by how much he was the leſs expected. *Abu Obeidah* in the mean time received *Kinniſrîn* and *Alhadir*; the Inhabitants paying down five thouſand Ounces of Gold, and as many of Silver, two thouſand Suits of Cloaths of ſeveral ſorts of Silk, and five hundred Aſſes Loads of Figs and Olives. *Yezid* marched againſt *Cæſarea* in vain, that Place being too well fortified to be taken by his little Army, eſpecially ſince it had been reinforced by the Emperor, who had ſent Store of all ſorts of Proviſion by Sea, and a Recruit of two thouſand Men. The Inhabitants of *Aleppo* were much concerned at the Loſs of *Kinniſrîn* and *Alhadir*, knowing very well that it would not be long before it would come to their turn, to experience themſelves what they had known till then only by Report. They had two Governours, Brothers, who dwelt in the Caſtle, (the ſtrongeſt in all *Syria*) which was not then encompaſſed by the Town, but ſtood out at a little Diſtance by it ſelf. The Name of one of theſe Brethren, if my Author miſtakes not, was *Youkinna*; the other *John*. Their Father held of the Emperor *Heraclius* all the Territory between *Aleppo* and

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Euphrates, after whoſe Deceaſe his Son *Youkinna* managed the Affairs; *John* not troubling himſelf with ſecular Employments, did not meddle with the Government, but led a Monkiſh Life; ſpending his Time in Retirement, Reading, and Deeds of Charity. He would have perſwaded his Brother to have ſecured himſelf, by compounding with the *Arabs* for a good round Sum of Money; who told him, that he talked like a Monk, and did not underſtand what belonged to a Soldier. That he had Wealth and Warlike Preparation enough, and was reſolved to make the beſt Oppoſition he could. Accordingly the next Day he called his Men together, among which there were ſeveral Chriſtian *Arabs*, and having armed them, and for their Encouragement diſtributed ſome Money among them, told them, that he was fully purpoſed to act offenſively, and give the *Saracens* Battle, if poſſible, before they ſhould come too near *Aleppo*. That the *Saracen* Army was weakened by their Diviſion, ſome of them being gone to *Cæſarea*, others to *Damaſcus*, and ſome into *Ægypt*. Thus encouraging his Men, he marched forwards with twelve thouſand. *Abu Obeidah* had ſent before him *Caab Ebn Damarah* with one thouſand Men, but with expreſs Orders not to fight till he had received Information of the Strength of the Enemy. *Youkinna*'s Spies found *Caab* and his

his Men reſting themſelves, and watering their Horſes, ſecure, and free from Apprehenſions of Danger: Upon which he lays an Ambuſcade, and falls upon them with the reſt of his Men. There was a ſharp Engagement, in which the Saracens had the better of it at firſt; but the Ambuſcade breaking in upon them, they were in great Danger of being overpowered with Multitude; one hundred and ſeventy of them were killed upon the Spot, and moſt of the reſt grievouſly wounded, that they were upon the very Brink of Deſpair, and cried out, *Ya Mahommed! Ya Mahommed! O Mahomet! O Mahomet!* However, with much ado they made Shift to hold up till Night parted them, earneſtly expecting the Coming of *Abu Obeidah.* Omar. Alwâkidi.

In the mean time, whilſt *Youkínna* was gone out with his Forces to engage the *Saracens*, the wealthy and trading People of *Aleppo*, knowing very well how hard it would go with them if they ſhould ſtand it out obſtinately to the laſt, and be taken by Storm, upon Debate, reſolved to go and article with *Abu Obeidah*, that, let *Youkínna*'s Succeſs be what it would, they might be ſecure. Thirty of the chief of them went to him, being then at *Kinniſrîn*, and juſt upon his March; and as ſoon as they came near, cried out *Legôun, Legôun, Abu Obeidah* underſtood that it meant *Quarter*, and had formerly

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merly written to the Captains in *Syria*, that if any of them heard any Man uſe that Word, they ſhould not be haſty to kill him, otherwiſe they muſt anſwer it at the Day of Judgement, and the *Caliph* would be clear. They were brought before *Abu Obeidah*, and perceiving that there were Fires in the Camp, and ſome were ſaying their Prayers, others reading the *Alcoran*, and all very eaſy and ſecure, one of them ſaid, *They have moſt certainly gotten the Victory.* An Interpreter that ſtood by told *Abu Obeidah*, who till then knew nothing of the Battle. Upon Examination they told him, that they were Merchants, and the chief Traders of *Aleppo*, and were come to make Articles for themſelves; that *Youkinna* was a Tyrant; that he marched out againſt the Saracens Yeſterday. *Abu Obeidah* hearing this, gave *Caab Ebn Damarah* over for loſt, which made him at firſt the more unwilling to article with the *Aleppians*; but upon their earneſt and repeated Intreaty, and being always naturally inclined to Compaſſion, and withal conſidering that theſe Perſons (for there were ſeveral belonging to the neighbouring Villages that had joined themſelves with them) might be ſerviceable in helping the Army to Proviſion and Provender, he cried out. [1] *God loves thoſe that are inclined*

[1] *Alcoran*, Chap. II. 190. III. 129, 141. V. 16.

to

to do good; and turning himſelf to the Saracens, he repreſented the Advantages which might accrue to them, by receiving theſe People into their Protection: But one that was preſent told him, that the Town was very near the Caſtle, and he did not believe they were in earneſt, or ought to be truſted; for, ſays he, they come to impoſe upon us, and no queſtion but they have trapanned *Caab*. To whom *Abu Obeidah* anſwered, *Entertain, Man, a better Opinion of God, who will not deceive us, nor give them the Dominion over us.* Then he propoſed to them the ſame Conditions which they of *Kinniſrîn* and *Hadèr* had agreed to; but they deſired to be excuſed, alledging, that through the Oppreſſion and Tyranny of *Youkinna*, their City of *Aleppo* was nothing near ſo well peopled, nor half ſo rich as *Kinniſrîn*; but if he pleaſed to accept of half ſo much, they would endeavour to raiſe it: Which was accepted, upon Condition, that they ſhould take Care to furniſh the Camp with all things neceſſary, and give all poſſible Intelligence that might be of any Uſe to the Muſlemans, and alſo hinder *Youkinna* from returning to the Caſtle. They undertook all but the laſt Article, which they ſaid was altogether out of their Power. Then he ſwore them every one, (ſuch an Oath as they had been uſed to) and bad them take

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Care

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Care how they broke it, for if they did, there would be no Quarter. When they were going away, he profered them a Guard to ſee them ſafe home; but they told him, they would, if he pleaſed, ſave him that Trouble, ſince they could go home the ſame way they came, without any fear of *Youkínna*.

As they were going back, they chanced to meet with one of *Youkinna*'s Officers, who enquiring, what News? They gave him an Account of the whole Tranſaction. Upon this he goes with all poſſible ſpeed to his Maſter; who was with Impatience expecting the Morning, that he might diſpatch *Caab* and his Men, whom the coming of the Night had preſerved: But hearing this News, he began to fear leſt there ſhould be any Attempt made upon the Caſtle, and thought it ſafeſt to make the beſt of his way homeward. In the Morning the Saracens were ſurprized to ſee no Enemy, and wondered what was the matter with them. *Caab* would have purſued them, but none of his Men had any Inclination to go with him; ſo they reſted themſelves, and in a little time *Caled* and *Abu Obeidah* came up with the reſt of the Army. Then they went about burying their Martyrs, as they call them; and put them into the Ground all bloody as they were, with their Cloaths, Arms, and all together. *Abu Obei-*

Obcidah ſaid, that he had heard the Apoſtle of God ſay, that *The Martyrs and thoſe who are killed in the Service of God, ſhall be raiſed at the Day of Judgement with their Blood upon their Throats, which ſhall have the Colour of Blood, and the Smell of Muſk, and they ſhall be led directly into Paradiſe, without being called to an Account.* Omar. Alwákidi.

As ſoon as they were buried, *Abu Obeidah* reminded *Caled* of the Obligation they were under to protect the *Aleppians*, now their Confederates, who were likely to be expoſed to the utmoſt Outrage and Cruelty of *Youkinna*, who, in all probabily, would ſeverely reſent their Deſertion. They Marched as faſt as they could, and when they drew near *Aleppo*, found that they were not at all deceived in what they feared. *Youkinna* had drawn up his Soldiers with a Deſign to fall upon the Townſmen, and threatened them with preſent Death, unleſs they would break their Covenant with the *Arabs*, and go out with him to fight them, and bring out to him the Perſon that was the firſt Contriver and Propoſer of it. At laſt he fell upon them in good earneſt, and killed about three hundred of them. His Brother *John*, who was in the Caſtle, hearing a piteous Outcry and Lamentation, came down from the Caſtle, and intreated his Brother to ſpare the People,

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People, repreſenting to him, that *Jeſus Chriſt* had commanded us not to contend with our Enemies, much leſs with thoſe of our own Religion. *Youkinna* told him, that they had agreed with the *Arabs*, and aſſiſted them. Which *John* excuſed, telling him, *That what they did was only for their own Security, becauſe they were no fighting Men.* In ſhort, he took their part ſo long, till he provoked his Brother to that degree, that he charged him with being the chief Contriver and Manager of the whole Buſineſs; and at laſt, in a great Paſſion, cut his Head off: But our Author ſays, that he firſt made Profeſſion of the *Mahometan* Religion, and went forthwith to Paradiſe. But very likely the Reaſon of his ſaying ſo, is, becauſe he was a ſober Man, and of a good Character, and he grudged that any ſuch ſhould die a Chriſtian, and therefore made a *Mahometan* of him, envying the Chriſtians the Credit of having a good Man among them. Whilſt he was murdering the unhappy *Aleppians*, *Caled*, (better late than never) came to their Relief. Which *Youkinna* perceiving, retired with a conſiderable Number of Soldiers into the Caſtle. The *Saracens* killed that Day three thouſand of his Men: However he prepared for a Siege, and planted Engines upon the Caſtle-Walls. The *Aleppians* brought out forty Priſoners, and de-

delivered them to *Abu Obeidah*, who bad his Interpreter aſk them, why they had made Priſoners of them? They anſwered, *Becauſe they belonged to* Youkínna, *and having fled to them, they durſt not conceal them, not being included in the Articles.* *Abu Obeidah* commended their Fidelity, and told them, *They ſhould find the Benefit of it*; and for their further Encouragement, added, *That what Plunder ſoever they got from any of the Chriſtians ſhould be their own, as a Reward of their good Service.* Seven of theſe Priſoners turned *Mahometans*; the reſt were beheaded. Omar. Alwákidi.

Abu Obeidah next, in a Council of War, deliberated what Meaſures were moſt proper to be taken. Some were of Opinion, that it would be the beſt way to beſiege the Caſtle with ſome part of the Army, and let the reſt be ſent out to forage. *Caled* would not hear of it, but was for having the Caſtle attacked with their whole Force at once; that, if poſſible, it might be taken before freſh Supplies ſhould come from the *Grecian* Emperor. This concluded upon, they made a moſt vigorous Aſſault, and had as hard a Battle as any in all the Wars of *Syria*. The Beſieged made a noble Defence, and threw Stones from the Walls in ſuch Plenty, that a great many of the *Saracens* were killed, and a great many more maimed.

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Youkínna, encouraged with his Succeſs, deſigned to act offenſively, and take all Advantages. The *Saracens*, looked upon all the Country as their own, and knowing that there was no Army of the Enemy near them, nor fearing any thing from the Beſieged, kept Guard negligently. *Youkínna*, in the dead of the Night, ſent out a Party, who, as ſoon as the Fires were out in the Camp, fell upon the *Saracens*, and having killed about ſixty, carried off fifty Priſoners. *Caled* purſued and cut off about an hundred of them; the reſt eſcaped to the Caſtle with the Priſoners, who, by the Command of *Youkínna*, were the next Day beheaded in the ſight of the *Saracen* Army. *Youkínna* upon this ventured once more to ſend out another Party, having received Information from one of his Spies (moſt of which were Chriſtian *Arabs*) that ſome of the Muſlemans were gone out to forage. They fell upon the Muſlemans, killed a hundred and thirty of them, and ſeized all their Camels, Mules and Horſes, which having killed or hamſtringed, they retired into the Mountains, in hopes of lying hid that Day, and returning to the Caſtle in the Silence of the Night. In the mean time, ſome that had eſcaped brought the News to *Abu Obeidah*, who ſends *Caled* and *Derar* to purſue them. Coming to the Place where the Fight had been,

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been, they found their Men and Camels dead, and the Country People making great Lamentation, for they were afraid leſt the *Saracens* ſhould ſuſpect them of Treachery, and revenge the Loſs of their Men upon them. Whereupon they fell down before *Caled*, and told him they were altogether innocent, and had not any way, either directly or indirectly, been inſtrumental in it; but that it was done by a Party of Horſe that ſallied from the Caſtle. *Caled* having ſworn them that they did not know any thing more, and taking ſome of them for Guides, beſet the only Paſſage by which the Beſieged could return to the Caſtle. When about a fourth Part of the Night was paſt, they perceived them coming, and falling upon them, took three hundred Priſoners, and killed the reſt. The Priſoners would have redeemed themſelves, but they were all beheaded the next Morning before the Caſtle.

The *Saracens* laid a cloſe Siege, but perceiving that they got no Advantage, *Abu Obeidah* removed the Camp about a Miles Diſtance from the Caſtle; hoping by this means to tempt the Beſieged to Security and Negligence in their Watch, which might at ſome time afford him an Opportunity of taking the Caſtle by Surprize. But all would not do; for *Youkinna* kept a very ſtrict Watch, and ſuffered not a

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Man to ſtir out. *Abu Obeidah* thought that there might be ſome Chriſtian Spies in the Army; whereupon he and *Caled* walked about the Camp, to ſee if they could pick up any ſuſpicious Perſons. *Caled* at laſt obſerved a Man ſitting with a Veſt before him, which he turned firſt on the one ſide, and then on the other. *Caled* ſtept to him, and aſked him, what Tribe he was off? The Fellow deſigned to have named another Tribe, if he had not been ſurpriſed; but having the Queſtion put to him on a ſudden, the Word ſlipt out of his Mouth, and he anſwered, of *Guſſân. Sayeſt thou ſo*, anſwered *Caled*) *thou Enemy of God, thou art a Chriſtian Arab, and a Spy*, and ſeized him. The Fellow ſaid, that he was not, but a Muſleman. *Caled* carried him to *Abu Obeidah*, who bad him examine him in the *Alcoran*, and make him ſay his Prayers. But the poor Fellow had not one Word to ſay for himſelf, being altogether ignorant of thoſe things: Upon which, without much arguing, he confeſſed himſelf a Spy, and that he was not alone, but there were three of them in all, two of which were returned to the Caſtle. *Abu Obeidah* bad him take his Choice, either of *Mahometaniſm* or Death, and he readily embraced the former.

The Siege continued four Months, and ſome ſay, five. In the mean time *Omar* was very much

much concerned, having heard nothing from the Camp in *Syria*. He writes to *Abu Obeidah*, to let him know how tender he was over the *Muſlemans*, and what a great grief it was to him to hear no News of them in ſo long a time. *Abu Obeidah* anſwered, that *Kinniſrîn*, *Hader* and *Aleppo* were ſurrendered to him, only the Caſtle of *Aleppo* held out, and that they had loſt a conſiderable Number of Men before it. That he had ſome Thoughts of raiſing the Siege, and paſſing forwards into that Part of the Country which lies between *Aleppo* and *Antioch*; but only he ſtayed for his Anſwer. About the time that *Abu Obeidah*'s Meſſengers got to *Medinah*, there came out of the ſeveral Tribes of the *Arabs* a conſiderable Number of Men, who profered their Service to the *Caliph*. *Omar* ordered ſeventy Camels to help their Foot, and diſpatched them into *Syria*, with a Letter to *Abu Obeidah*; in which he acquainted him, *That he was variouſly affected, according to the different Succeſs they had had; but charged them by no means to raiſe the Siege of the Caſtle, for that would make them look little, and encourage their Enemies to fall upon them on all ſides. Wherefore*, adds he, *continue beſieging it, till God ſhall determine the Event, and forage with your Horſe round about the Country.*

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Among thoſe freſh Supplies which *Omar* ſent laſt to the *Saracen* Camp, there was a very remarkable Man, whoſe Name was *Dames*, of a Gigantick Size, and an admirable Soldier. When he had been in the Camp forty ſeven Days, and all the Force and Cunning of the *Saracens* could do nothing to the Caſtle, he deſired *Abu Obeidah* to let him have the Command of thirty Men, and he would try his beſt. *Caled* had heard much of the Man, and told *Abu Obeidah* a long Story of a wonderful Performance of this *Dames* in *Arabia*; that he was looked upon as a very proper Perſon for ſuch an Undertaking. *Abu Obeidah* bad thoſe who were to go with him not deſpiſe their Commander, becauſe of the Meanneſs of his Condition, he being a Slave; and ſwore, that if the Care of the whole Army did not lye upon him, he would be the firſt Man that ſhould go under him upon ſuch an Enterprize. To which they anſwered with entire Submiſſion and profound Reſpect. *Dames*, who lay hid at no great Diſtance, went out ſeveral times, and brought in with him five or ſix *Greeks*, but never a Man of them underſtood one Word of Arabick, which made him angry, and ſay, *God curſe theſe Dogs! What a ſtrange barbarous Language they uſe.*

At laſt he went again, and there fell a Man down from the Wall; him he took, and by the Help

Help of a Chriſtian *Arab*, which he took afterwards, examined him; who gave him an Account, that immediately upon the Departure of the *Saracens*, *Youkinna* began to abuſe the Townſmen that had agreed with the *Arabs*, and exact large Sums of Money of them; that he was one of them, and had endeavoured to make his Eſcape from the Oppreſſion and Tyranny of *Youkinna*, by leaping down from the Wall. They let him go, as being under their Protection by virtue of the Articles made between *Abu Obeidah* and the *Aleppians*; but beheaded all the reſt. Omar. Alwákidi.

Dames then takes out of a Knapſack a Goats Skin; with this he covers his Back and Shoulders, and takes a dry Cruſt in his Hand, creeping upon all Fours as near to the Caſtle as he could; and if he heard any Noiſe, or ſuſpected any Perſon's being near, to prevent being diſcovered, he made ſuch a Noiſe with his Cruſt, as a Dog makes that is gnawing a Bone. The reſt of his Company came after, ſometimes ſculking and creeping along, at other times walking. He had ſent two of his Men to *Abu Obeidah*, to ſend him ſome Horſe about Sunriſe. When they came to the Caſtle, they found it in a manner inacceſſible. However *Dames* was reſolved to leave nothing unattempted. Having found a Place where he thought it

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pany with him eating and drinking, and very merry. He came and told his Men, that he did not think it adviſeable to fall upon them then, becauſe of the great Inequality of their Numbers, but had rather take the Advantage of them about Break of Day; at which time there was no fear but there would come ſome Help from the Army. In the mean time he went alone, and privately ſtabbing the Porters, and ſetting open the Gates, came back to his Men, and bad them haſten to take Poſſeſſion of the Gates. This was not done ſo ſecretly, but they were at laſt taken notice of, and the Caſtle alarmed. There was no Hopes of eſcaping, but every one of them expected to periſh. It was now towards Morning; *Dames* behaved himſelf bravely, but overpowered with Multitude, they were not able to hold up, when *Caled* came to their Relief. As ſoon as the Beſieged perceived the *Saracens* ruſhing in upon them, they threw down their Arms, and cried *Quarter!* *Abu Obeidah* was not far behind with the reſt of the Army. Having taken the Caſtle, and propoſed *Mahometaniſm* to the Chriſtians, the firſt that embraced it was *Youkinna*, and ſome of the chief Men with him, who immediately had their Wives and Children, and all their Wealth reſtored to them. *Abu Obeidah* ſet the old and impotent People at Liberty, and having

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having taken out a Fifth part of the Spoil of the Caſtle, (which was of great Value) divided the reſt among the Muſlemans. *Dames* was talked of, and admired by all, and *Abu Obeidah* paid him the Reſpect of making the Army continue in that Place, till he and his Men were perfectly cured of their Wounds.

Having taken the Caſtle of *Aleppo*, he had Thoughts of marching next to *Antioch*, then the Seat of the *Grecian* Emperor. But *Youkinna*, the late Governor of the Caſtle of *Aleppo*, with the changing of his Religion, being become an utter Enemy to the Chriſtian Intereſt, perſwaded him to defer his March to *Antioch*, till they had firſt taken the Caſtle of *Aazâz*, held by *Theodorus* his Couſin-German; a Place of Importance, and which, if not taken, would prove a great Nuſance to the *Saracens* on that ſide the Country; and profered his Service. The way that he propoſed, was to take with him an hundred *Saracens*, dreſſed in the *Grecian* Habit, and with him to ride to *Aazâz*. Theſe hundred were to be purſued at a little Interval by a thouſand other *Saracens* in their proper Habit. He ſaid, *That he did not at all queſtion a kind Reception at the Hands of his Kinſman* Theodorus. Whom he was to tell, *That he had only feigned himſelf a* Mahometan, *till he could find an Opportunity of eſcaping; that*

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that he was purſued by the Saracens, *&c.* If they were received, of which there was no doubt, they would in the Night fall upon the Inhabitants; and thoſe other, who pretended to purſue them, and ſhould be ordered to ſtay at a Village called *Morah*, not far diſtant from *Aazâz*, ſhould come to their Aſſiſtance. *Abu Obeidah* aſked *Caled* what he thought of it, who approved of the Stratagem, provided they could be well aſſured of *Youkinna*'s Sincerity in the Execution of it. *Youkinna* uſed a great many very earneſt Expreſſions to ſatisfy them of his Integrity; and after *Abu Obeidah* had, in a long Diſcourſe, ſet before him the Danger of being treacherous on the one hand; and on the other, the Benefits that would accrue to him by faithfully ſerving the *Saracens*; they reſolved to venture him, and choſe ten a Piece out of ten ſeveral Tribes of the *Arabs*; each ten being commanded by a *Decurion*, and all of them committed to *Youkinna*. When they were gone about a League, *Abu Obeidah* ſent after them a thouſand Men, under *Malec Alâſhtari*, with Order to lie ſtill by way of Ambuſh, when they came near to *Aazâz*, till Night. They found the Village void of Inhabitants, which the Terror of the *Saracens* had ſcared further up into the Country. Whilſt *Malec* was at that Village, he intercepted a Chriſtian

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Chriſtian *Arab*, who upon Examination told him, *That he and his Men muſt look to themſelves, for all their Deſign was diſcovered: That there was a Spy in the Camp, who had heard all* Youkínna's *Contrivance, and given the Governour of* Aazâz *ſecret Intelligence of it, by a Letter tied under the Wing of a tame Pigeon* (a Practice not uncommon in theſe Parts.) *Upon which he* (meaning himſelf) *had been ſent to* Lucas, *Governour of* Arrawendân, *to deſire his Aſſiſtance. That he was coming, and could not be far off with five hundred Horſe. Youkínna* in the mean time coming to *Aazâz*, found the Town and Caſtle in a Poſture of Defence, and his Couſin *Theodorus*, the Governour, at the Head of three thouſand *Greeks*, and ten thouſand Chriſtian *Arabs*, beſides others that came out of the Villages. *Theodorus* made up to *Youkínna*, and alighting from his Horſe, made profound Reverence, as if he would have kiſſed *Youkínna*'s Stirrup. In the mean-time, he ſlily cut his Girth, and with one Puſh threw him flat on his Face upon the Ground. Then he and all his Men were immediately taken Priſoners. *Theodorus* ſpit in his Face, and reproached him with his apoſtatizing from the Chriſtian Religion; threatning Death to all his *Arabs*, and to ſend him to anſwer for himſelf before his Maſter the *Grecian* Emperor. All

this

this while *Theodorus* knew nothing of *Malec*'s being ſo near; his Spy having only informed him of *Youkinna*'s intended Treachery, and not one Word of *Malec*'s feigned Purſuit. The Prefect of *Arrawendân* came in the Night, according as he had promiſed *Theodorus*, with his five hundred Men, and were all intercepted by *Malec*, who had two to their one: Having made Priſoners of them, they diſguiſed themſelves in their Cloaths, and took the Chriſtian Colours in their Hands. Then *Malec* aſked the Spy to turn *Mahometan*; which he did. He had been one before, at the ſame time when *Jabalah Ebno'l Ayham* made Profeſſion of that Superſtition; but *Jabalah* thinking himſelf affronted by *Omar*, and revolting, thoſe Chriſtian *Arabs* that depended upon him, went off along with him; among which Number, this Spy taken by *Malec* at *Morah*, was one. He told *Malec*, that he had heard that *Mahomet* had ſaid, *That whoſoever changed his Religion ſhould be killed*. *Malec* ſaid it was true, but God had ſaid, *Illa man tâba Waamána*; *Except he that repents and believes*; adding, That the Prophet himſelf had accepted of *Wahſhy*'s Repentance, notwithſtanding he had killed his Uncle *Hamzah*. *Thârik Algaſſâni* (that was the Spy's Name) hearing this, repeated the *La Ilaha*, &c. and *Malec* ſaid, *May God accept thy Repentance, and ſtrengthen*

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ſtrengthen thy Faith. This done, he bad him go and tell the Governour of *Aazâz*, that the Governour of *Arrawendân* was coming to his Aſſiſtance; which he undertook, and, attended only by one Companion, went till he came near the Walls, where they heard a very great Noiſe of Shouting and Trumpets, which was occaſioned after this manner.

Theodorus, Governour of *Aazâz*, had a Son, whoſe Name was *Leon*; whom he uſed to ſend, now and then, for a Month or two, to be with his Uncle *Youkínna* at *Aleppo*-Caſtle. There he fell in Love with his Uncle's Daughter, a very beautiful Lady. Returning back, he acquaints his Mother with his Paſſion; who, very tenderly, was willing to contribute any thing that might be a means of procuring the proper Remedy. His Father *Theodorus* had put theſe Priſoners, *Youkínna* and his hundred diſguiſed Saracens into *Leon*'s Appartment. He, glad of this Opportunity of ingratiating himſelf with his Uncle, came and told him, that he had a Mind to releaſe him and his Friends. *Youkínna* told him, that if he had any Inclination to turn *Mahometan*, he ought not to do it upon any Proſpect of worldly Advantage. To which the young Villain, fired with Luſt, and reſolved upon the Match, anſwered, *That his Family and Relations were dear to him; but the Faith was dearer.*

dearer. In ſhort, he ſet them all at Liberty, gave them their Arms, and bad them go in the Name of God, whilſt he went and killed his Father, whom he was ſure to find drunk and aſleep. Immediately the *Saracens*, now enlarged, fall upon the *Greeks*, who made a ſtout Reſiſtance. During which time the Spies went back to *Malec*, to acquaint him how things ſtood, who rode on a-pace, and came time enough to relieve their Friends, and take the Caſtle. They gave great Thanks to *Youkinna*, who bad them *thank God, and this young Man*; meaning his Kinſman *Leon*, and told them all the Story: To which *Malec* anſwered, *When God will have a Thing done, he prepares the Cauſes of it*. Then he aſked, who killed *Theodorus*? *Leon* anſwered, *My elder Brother* Luke. *Malec* wondered, and aſked him, how that came about, ſince ſuch a Thing was ſcarce ever heard of among the *Greeks*, that a Child ſhould murder his own Father. *Luke*, it ſeems, told them, *That it was out of Love to them, their Prophet and Religion. That they had a Prieſt who uſed to bring them up, who had told him long ſince of* Mahomet; *and that the* Saracens *ſhould moſt certainly conquer the Country; and that they had ſeveral Prophecies relating to it*; and much to that purpoſe: *Wherefore he was glad of this Opportunity of becoming one of them*; *and*

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and had deſigned to have ſet his Uncle Youkínna *and the Priſoners at Liberty, if his Brother* Leon *had not prevented him.* Hopeful Youths! who had prevented each other in a maſterly Piece of Villany; the one in murdering his Father; the other, in ſetting at Liberty his moſt mortal Enemies, and betraying all his Friends! *Malec* gave him his Bleſſing, and having ſet *Saïd Ebn Amer* over the Caſtle, with that hundred Men that came along with *Youkinna*, marched with the Spoils to *Aleppo*. There were in the Caſtle of *Aazâz*, when the Muſlemans took it, one thouſand young Men, *Greeks*, two hundred forty-five old Men and Monks, one thouſand young Women and Girls, and one hundred and eighty old Women.

Juſt as *Malec* was upon his March, the *Saracens* upon the Caſtle-Wall gave ſuch a ſhout, as alarmed all the reſt, and gave them notice, that they ſaw a great Duſt not far off. When they came near, it appeared that they were only one thouſand *Saracens*, which *Abu Obeidah* had ſent under the Command of *Alphadl Bno'l Abbás*, to plunder round about *Menbigz* (formerly *Hierapolis*) and the adjacent Villages, which they had done, and brought off the Spoil. *Malec* and *Alphadl* marched together; but *Youkinna* having had ſuch bad Succeſs, could not be perſwaded to go along with them, being reſolved

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not to appear at the Camp, nor ſhow himſelf to the Army, till he had by ſome ſignal Service made amends for his Miſcarriage, and retrieved his Credit; but choſe rather to go to *Antioch*. And though *Alphadl* endeavoured to convince him that he was in no Fault, neither ought to be concerned for it, and proved it by a Text of the *Alcoran*; yet he could not be ſatisfyed nor reconciled to himſelf. Among *Alphadl*'s Men there were two hundred *Renegados*, who had, as well as their Maſter *Youkinna*, renounced their Chriſtianity, and entered into the Service of the *Saracens*, and had their Families and Effects in the Caſtle of *Aleppo*: Theſe ſeemed to him to be the moſt proper Inſtruments to work withal. With theſe he marches towards *Antioch*. After the firſt Watch of the Night was paſt, he took four of his Relations, and commanded the reſt to keep the direct high Road to *Antioch*, uſed by the *Caravans*, and to pretend that they fled from before the *Saracens*; telling them, *That they ſhould ſee him at* Antioch, *if it pleaſed God*. He with his Friends going another way, was examined by ſome of the Emperor's Men, who no ſooner underſtood that he was the late Governour of *Aleppo*, but they ſent him with a Guard of Horſe to *Antioch*. *Heraclius* wept at the ſight of him, and told him, *That he was informed he had changed his*

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Religion. To which he anſwered, *That what he had done was only in order to reſerve himſelf for his Majeſty's further Service: That he had taken this Opportunity of flying to him from* Aazâz: *That the vigorous Defence he had made at* Aleppo, *was a ſufficient Teſtimony of his Zeal for his Religion and his Fidelity to his Majeſty.* The Emperor received the Apoſtate with great Tenderneſs and Reſpect, and the greateſt part of the Court were inclined to entertain a charitable Opinion of him. Nay, ſo favourably did the Emperor judge of him, that he not only made him Commander over thoſe two hundred which belonged to him, when they came to *Antioch*; but when his youngeſt Daughter, who was then in another Place, had ſent to her Father, the Emperor, for a Guard to conduct her ſafe to *Antioch*, *Youkinna* was entruſted with this Charge, and had under him for this purpoſe two thouſand two hundred Men. Whilſt they were upon this Expedition, as he was in his Return, about Midnight, the *Greek* Horſes pricked up their Ears, and began to neigh, and ſome of his advanced Guards brought him Intelligence of a Party of Saracens in a very negligent Poſture, moſt of them being aſleep, and their Horſes feeding. *Youkinna* ſeemingly encouraged his Men; but, that he might do the Saracens what ſecret Service he could, commanded them not

to

to kill but take them Priſoners, that they might afterwards ſerve to exchange for the Chriſtians. When they came a little nearer, they found themſelves miſtaken; for thoſe which they took to be *Mahometans*, proved to be one thouſand Chriſtian *Arabs*, under the Command of *Haïm*, Son of *Jabalah Ebno'l Ayham*, who had ſurprized *Derar*, and taken him Priſoner, and with him two hundred Saracens, ſent out by *Abu Obeidah*, to forage in the Northern Parts of *Syria*. Upon which *Youkinna* alights from his Horſe, and pays his Reſpects to *Haïm*, hypocritically congratulating his good Succeſs. *Abu Obeidah* now reſolved, purſuant to the *Chaliph*'s Command, to march without delay to *Antioch*. The Emperor in the mean time was acquainted with the Approach of his Daughter, and *Haïm*'s good Succeſs, which cauſed great Rejoycing in *Antioch*. The Priſoners were brought into the Emperor's Preſence, and being commanded to fall down in a Poſture of Adoration, they took no notice of thoſe that ſpoke to them, nor looked that way, nor made any Anſwer. At laſt being urged to it, *Derar* anſwered, *That they did not think Adoration was due to any Creature; beſides our Prophet has forbidden us to pay it.* The Emperor aſked ſeveral Queſtions concerning their Prophet, and they beckoned to *Kais Ebn Amer*, an old Man, and thoroughly ac-

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quainted with thoſe Matters, to anſwer him. Among other Queſtions, the Emperor aſked him, after what manner Inſpiration uſed to come upon their Prophet, at his firſt ſetting forth? *Kais* told him, that *Mahomet* himſelf having been formerly asked that Queſtion by an Inhabitant of *Meccah*, anſwered, *That ſometimes it uſed to be like the Sound of a Bell, but ſtronger and ſharper; ſometimes an Angel appeared to me in human Shape, and diſcourſed with me, and I committed to Memory what he ſaid.* Ayeſha *ſaid, that once the Spirit of Prophecy deſcended upon him on a very cold Day, and when it was gone off from him, his Forehead ran down with Sweat. The firſt Meſſage he received was in a Dream; and whenever he ſaw a Viſion, it appeared to him like the breaking forth of the Morning-Brightneſs. Then he ſhut himſelf up in a cloſe Place alone, where he continued till the TRUTH came to him. An Angel came to him, being thus ſhut up, and ſaid,* Read. *To which he anſwered,* I cannot Read. *Then the Angel repeated it, and having inſtructed him in Things to come, ſent him forth, and ſaid to him,* [8] Read in the Name of the Lord who created, &c. *With which the Apoſtle of God* (Mahomet) *returned to his Place,*

[8] *Alcoran*, Chap. XCVI. ver. 1. According to the Order of the Copies now in uſe; though the Mahometans take it for the firſt Chapter of the whole *Alcoran*.

with

with his Fleſh trembling. *Then he went into the Houſe to* Chadijah, *and ſaid, Zammiloúni, Zammiloúni*, Wrap me up, wrap me up. *Upon which they wrapped him up in Blankets, till he came to himſelf, and his Fear was gone off: After which he gave an Account of the whole Matter to* Chadijah, *after this manner.* Omar. Alwâkidi.

As I was walking (ſaid he) *I heard a Voice from Heaven; and lifting up my Eyes, I ſaw the ſame Angel which came to me before, ſitting upon a Throne between Heaven and Earth. Being afraid of him, I went home, and ſaid, Zammiloúni, Datthiroúbi*, wrap me up in Blankets and Matts. *And at that time God ſent down to me that Chapter which begins with theſe Words,* [1] *O* thou that art wrapped in Blankets: *And part of that which begins with theſe Words,* [2] O thou that art wrapped in Matts, *to theſe Words*, And flee from the Puniſhment; which is the fifth Verſe of that Chapter.

The *Byzantine* Hiſtorians, and thoſe other Writers who have followed them blindfold in their Account of *Mahomet*, will needs have it, that *Mahomet* was troubled with the Falling-ſickneſs: And [3] *Hottinger* takes his being wrapped up in Matts and Blankets for an undeniable Proof of it. As for the *Byzantines*, their

[1] It is the LXIII. of the *Alcoran*. [2] *Alcoran*, Chap. LXXIV. [3] *Hiſtoria Orientalis*, Lib. 1. Cap. 2. p. 10, 11.

Omar. Alwakidi. Authority in this Matter is of no great weight, eſpecially conſidering they always make it their Buſineſs to repreſent *Mahomet* as full of all manner of Imperfections, both of Body and Mind as poſſible; as if the Chriſtian Religion was beſt ſerved by perverting of Hiſtory. As to his being wrapped up in Blankets, there might be many Occaſions of that beſides the Falling-Sickneſs; and his being troubled with that Diſeaſe having no Foundation in any *Arabick* Hiſtorian, it ought, till it be better made appear, to be rejected among the reſt of thoſe idle Stories which have been told of *Mahomet* by the Chriſtians.

To return to our Hiſtory. The Emperor afterwards aſked him, what he had ſeen of *Mahomet*'s Miracles. *Kais* told him, that being once upon a Journey with him, there came an *Arabian* up to them, whom *Mahomet* asked, if he would teſtify, that there was but *one God, and that he was his Prophet*. The *Arabian* asked him, what Witneſs he had that what he ſaid was true? To which *Mahomet* anſwered, *This Tree*: And calling the Tree to him, it came upright, plowing the Ground up with its Roots. *Mahomet* bad it bear Witneſs: Which it did; ſaying three times, *Thou art the Apoſtle of God*. After which it returned, and ſtood in its Place as before. *Heraclius* ſaid, He had heard, that it was

a part of their Religion to believe, that if any of them did any Good, it ſhould be returned to them ten-fold: If evil, only once. *Kais* told him, that it was true, and quoted this Text out of the Alcoran; [3] *He that does Good ſhall receive ten times ſo much; but he that does Evil, ſhall receive only ſo much.* The Emperor aſked him, if their Prophet was not called the *Witneſs.* To which *Kais* anſwered, That he was the *Witneſs* in this World, and the Witneſs againſt Men in the World to come, becauſe God ſays, [4] *O Prophet! we have ſent thee a Witneſs, and a Preacher of good News, and a Warner.* The Emperor aſked him concerning *Mahomet*'s Nights Journey to Heaven, and his diſcourſing there with the moſt High: Which *Kais* affirmed to be true, and proved it from the firſt Verſe of the ſeventeenth Chapter of the *Alcoran.* Then the Emperor aſked him concerning their faſting in the Month *Ramadan*; in which, *Mahomet* affirmed, that the *Alcoran* came down from Heaven; which *Kais* acknowledged. A Biſhop who was preſent at this Conference, ſpeaking ſomething to the Diſparagement of *Mahomet*, provoked *Derar Ebnol Azwâr* (one of the Priests) to ſuch a degree, that he gave him the Lye, and reviled him in a moſt reproachful

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[3] Chap. VI. 161. XL. 43. [4] *Alcoran*, Chap. XLVIII. & XXXIII. 44.

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Language, affirming that *Mahomet* was a Prophet, but the Veil of Infidelity hindered them from the Knowledge of him. Upon which ſome of the Chriſtians drew their Swords, to chaſtize his Inſolence: But it ſeems he had a moſt wonderful Deliverance; for though they ſtruck at him fourteen times, he eſcaped ſafe. However, if *Youkinna* had not interceded for a Reprieve till the next Day, he would certainly have been executed by the Emperor's Command.

In the mean time *Abu Obeidah* proceeded in his March, receiving by Surrender thoſe Places which remained, till he came to that Bridge which they called the *Iron Bridge*, very near *Antioch*. The Emperor commits the Care of the Army, and the City to *Youkinna*, and delivered to him a Crucifix out of the Church, which was never ſhewn publickly, but upon extraordinary Occaſions. Then he called for the Priſoners. But *Youkinna* told him, that it would be the beſt way to ſpare them, becauſe if any of the Chriſtians ſhould be taken, they might be exchanged: Upon which Suggeſtion their Execution was deferred, and by the [illegible] vice of the Biſhops, they were carried into [illegible] Great Church, to ſee if any of them would embrace the Chriſtian Religion, and be baptized. *Amer*, the Son of *Rephâa* turned; but our

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Author will needs have it, that it was the Dreſs and Beauty of the *Grecian* Ladies influenced the young Man more than any Conviction of Conſcience. When his Father *Rephâa* heard of it, he broke out into this paſſionate Exclamation: *What! turn Infidel after having embraced the Faith! Alas for thee! Thou art driven from the Gate of the moſt Merciful. Alas for thee! thou haſt denied the King, the Judge. Alas for thee, thou Reprobate! How haſt thou denied the Lord of Might and perfect Power! I ſwear by God, that I weep not for thee, becauſe I muſt part with thee in this World, but becauſe I muſt part with thee in the next; when thou muſt go one way, and I another. When thou ſhalt go to the Habitation of Devils, and be placed with thoſe Prieſts and Deacons in the* [1] *loweſt Manſion of Hell, I ſhall go with the Followers of* Mahomet, (*upon whom be the Bleſſing of God*) *to meet thoſe Spirits which converſe with him. O Son! Chuſe not the Delights of this preſent World before that to come. Oh! How ſhall I be aſtoniſhed and confounded for this that thou haſt done, when thou comeſt to ſtand in the Preſence of the Lord of Power and Might, the King of this World, and that to come! And how ſhall I be aſhamed before* Mahomet, *the elect Prophet of God! O Son! From whom wilt thou ſeek Interceſſion*

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[1] *Arab. Sadiſati.* i. e. The Sixth.

[2] *another*

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[a] *another Day!* The young Man was baptized, and received with great Courteſy both by the Emperor and the Biſhops. The Emperor gave him a Horſe, and a young Woman, and liſted him into *Jabalah Ebno'l Ayham*'s Army, conſiſting of Chriſtian *Arabs*. The Patriarch aſked the reſt, what hindered them from turning Chriſtians too. To which they anſwered, *The Truth of our Religion.* The Patriarch repreſented to them the Danger they incurred, by diſpleaſing *Jeſus Chriſt.* To which *Rephâa* replied, *That it would one Day be determined, which Party was rejected, and which in the Favour of God. Heraclius* told them, that he had been informed that their *Chaliph* uſed to wear very mean Apparel; adding, That he had gotten enough from the Chriſtians to afford himſelf a better Dreſs, and aſked, what ſhould hinder him from going like other Princes. *Rephâa* told him, *That the Conſideration of the other World, and the Fear of God hindered him.* To the other Queſtions propoſed by the Emperor, they anſwered in a Cant ſo very much like what our Ears have for ſome late Years been uſed to, that were it not for the Difference of the Language, we might juſt have ſuſpected them to have been nearer Neighbours.

[a] *Arab. Gadan.* i. e. *To morrow.* It is uſed to expreſs future Time; and ſignifies in this Place the Day of Judgment.

bours. The Emperor aſked them, *What ſort of a Palace their Chaliph had?* They ſaid, it was made of Mud. *And who* (ſaid the Emperor) *are his Attendants?* The Beggars and poor People. *What Tapeſtry does he ſit upon?* Juſtice and Uprightneſs. *And what is his Throne?* Abſtinence and certain Knowledge. *And what is his Treaſure?* Truſt in God. *And who are his Guard?* The ſtouteſt of the *UNITARIANS.* They added, *Doſt thou not know, O King! that ſeveral have ſaid unto him, O* Omar! *Lo, thou poſſeſſeſt the Treaſures of the* Cæſars; *and Kings and great Men are ſubdued unto thee: Now therefore why putteſt thou not on rich Garments? He ſaid unto them, Ye ſeek the outward World, but I ſeek the Favour of him that is Lord both of this World, and that to come.*

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The Emperor having diſcourſed with them as long as he thought fit, remanded them to Priſon, and went to take a view of his Army, which he found drawn up without the City in very good Order. At the Head of every Regiment there was a little Church made of Wood, for the Soldiers to go to Prayers in. On a ſudden he was informed that the *Arabs* were Maſters of the *Iron Bridge.* He was very much ſurprized to hear that they had taken two Towers in which there were no fewer than three hundred Officers, in ſo ſhort a time; but it

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ſeems they were betrayed: Which was occaſioned thus; A great Officer at Court uſed to go every Day to ſee that theſe Towers were well guarded, and not neglected. One Day he found thoſe whoſe Buſineſs it was to take care of theſe Towers, drinking and revelling, and no Body upon Duty. Provoked with this intolerable Negligence, he ordered them fifty Laſhes a-piece. This ſevere Diſcipline made them ſtudy Revenge; and accordingly, when *Abu Obeidah* and his Army drew near, they made Articles for themſelves, and delivered the Towers into the Hands of the Saracens.

The Emperor having now no Hopes left, aſſembled the Biſhops and great Men together in the Great Church, and there bewailed the unhappy Fate of *Syria*. *Jabalah* told him, that if the *Chaliph* was killed, the Affairs of the Saracens would be embroiled, and it would be of great moment towards the Recovery of what he had loſt. Having obtained Leave, he ſent one of his Chriſtian *Arabs*, whoſe Name was *Wathek Ebn Moſápher*, a reſolute young Man, with Orders to take a convenient Opportunity of killing the *Chaliph*. *Omar*, after Prayers, went out of the City, to take a Walk, according to his Cuſtom. *Wathek* went before him, and got upon a Tree, where he ſat privately, till at laſt he obſerved *Omar* lie down to ſleep very near him.

him. Having this fair Opportunity, he drew his Dagger, and was juſt coming down, when caſting his Eyes about, he ſaw a Lion walking round about *Omar*, and licking his Feet; who guarded him till he awoke, and then went away. Surprized at this, and ſtruck with a profound Reverence for the *Chaliph*, whom he now looked upon as the peculiar Care of Heaven, he came down and kiſſed his Hand, and having told him his Errand, made Profeſſion of the *Mahometan* Religion immediately, being ſtrangely affected with this wonderful Deliverance. Omar. Alwákidi.

In the mean time the Armies before *Antioch* drew near to Battle, and the Chriſtian General's Name was *Neſtorius*. He went out firſt, and challenged any *Saracen* to ſingle Combat. *Dames* anſwered him; but in the Engagement, his Horſe ſtumbling, he was ſeized before he could recover himſelf, and being taken Priſoner, was conveyed to *Neſtorius* his Tent, and there bound. *Neſtorius* returning to the Army, and offering himſelf a ſecond time, was anſwered by one *Dehâc*. The Combatants behaved themſelves bravely, and the Victory was doubtful, which [illegible] all the Soldiers deſirous of being Spectators. The juſtling and thronging both of Horſe and Foot to ſee this Engagement, threw down *Neſtorius* his Tent and Chair of State. He had three Servants left in the Tent, who fearing they

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they ſhould be beaten when their Maſter came back, and having no body elſe to help them, told *Dames*, that if he would lend them an Hand to ſet up the Tent, and put things in order, they would unbind him, upon Condition that he ſhould voluntarily return to his Bonds again, till their Maſter came home, at which time they promiſed to ſpeak a good Word for him. He readily accepted the Terms; but as ſoon as he was at Liberty, he immediately ſeized two of them, one in his Right Hand, the other in his Left, and daſhed their two Heads ſo violently againſt the third Man's, that they all three fell down dead upon the Place. Then he opened a Cheſt, and took out a good Suit of Cloaths, and mounting a good Horſe of *Neſtorius*'s, he wrapped up his Face as well as he could, and made towards the Chriſtian *Arabs*, where *Jabalah* with the chief of his Tribe ſtood on the Left Hand of *Heraclius*. In the mean time, *Dehâc* and *Neſtorius*, being equally matched, continued fighting, till both their Horſes were quite tired out, and they were obliged to part by Conſent, to reſt themſelves. *Neſtorius* returning to his Tent, and finding things in ſuch Poſture, eaſily gueſſed that it muſt be *Dames*'s his doing. The News flew inſtantly through all the Army, and every one was ſurpriſed at the Strangeneſs of the Action. *Dames*, in the mean time,

time, had gotten among the Chriſtian *Arabs*, and ſtriking off at one Blow a Man's Head that ſtood next him, made a ſpeedy Eſcape to the Saracen Army. Omar. Alwákidi.

All this while *Youkínna* was contriving which way to do the Saracens Service; and when *Derar* and his Companions had been Priſoners eight Months, and were juſt about being beheaded, he interceded with the Emperor to ſpare them; aſſuring him, that if he put them to Death, the Saracens would never more give Quarter to any Chriſtian, when ever any of them ſhould fall into their Hands. The Emperor not ſuſpecting any Treachery, committed them to his Care; who, watching a convenient Opportunity, ſet them at Liberty, and gave them their Arms, aſſuring them, that there were a great many Perſons of the higheſt Quality in the Emperor's Service, who were fully reſolved to go over to the Saracens. The Emperor diſheartened with a conſtant Courſe of ill Succeſs, and terrified with a Dream which he had of one thruſting him out of his Throne, and his Crown falling from his Head, took ſome of his Domeſticks, and eſcaping privately to the Sea-ſhore, embark-ed for *Conſtantinople*.

Our Author tells us a ſtrange Story of the Emperor's turning *Mahometan*, which was occaſioned by a great Pain in his Head, for which he

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he could get no help, till he applied himſelf to *Omar*, who ſent him a Cap, which ſo long as he wore, he was well; but when he took it off, it returned again. The Emperor wondering at this ſtrange Effect, would have the Cap ripped open; but found nothing in it but a little Piece of Paper, with *Biſmillah, Arrahmâni 'rrahhîmi, In the Name of the moſt merciful God*, written upon it. This Cap, it ſeems, was poſſeſſed by the Chriſtians till the Reign of *Almotáſem* (which began in the Year of our Lord 833.) who beſieging *Ammoytriyah*, was grievouſly afflicted with the Head-Ach; upon which the Governour of the Town promiſed him the Cap, upon Condition that he ſhould raiſe the Siege. The *Chaliph, Almotáſem*, undertook it, provided the Cap produced the deſired Effect, which it did incontinently, and the Siege was accordingly raiſed. The ſame Curioſity which moved the Emperor *Heraclius* to have the Cap opened, made this *Chaliph* do ſo too; but he found nothing in it but the above-mentioned Scrip of Paper, whoſe Virtue was not in the leaſt impaired or diminiſhed in the ſpace of two hundred Years; which Period of Time, would, in all Probability, have made ſome Alteration in an ordinary Medicine. But the Caſe is quite different here, for we have been told by other Hands, that the Relicks of holy Men are never the worſe for wear-

wearing. What is it that Men will not believe and write when once bigotted to Superſtition! Omar. Alwákidi.

To return to the Army. *Antioch* was not loſt without a ſet Battel; but through the Treachery of *Youkínna*, and ſeveral other Perſons of Note, together with the Aſſiſtance of *Derar* and his Company, who were mixt with *Youkínna*'s Men, the Chriſtians were beaten entirely. The People of the Town perceiving the Battle loſt, made Agreement, and ſurrendered, paying down three hundred thouſand Ducats. Upon which *Abu Obeidah* entered into *Antioch* on Tueſday, being in the twenty firſt Day of *Auguſt*, in the Year of our Lord ſix hundred and thirty eight. [1]

Thus fell that ancient and famous City, the Seat of ſo many Kings and Princes, into the Hands of the Infidels. The Sweetneſs of the Situation, and Abundance of all things contributing to Delight and Luxury, was ſo great, that *Abu Obeidah*, fearing leſt his Saracens, effeminated with the Delicacies of that Place, ſhould remit any thing of their wonted Vigour and Bravery, durſt not let them continue there long; but after three Days Refreſhment, withdrew them from thence.

Then he wrote a Letter to the *Chaliph*, in which he gave him an Account of his great

[1] *Hegirah* 17. *A. D.* 638.

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Succeſs in taking the *Metropolis* of *Syria*, and *Heraclius* his Flight to *Conſtantinople*; Telling him withal, what was the reaſon why he ſtaid no longer there. He added, That the Saracens were deſirous of marrying the *Grecian* Women, which he had forbidden. That he was afraid leſt the Love of the things of this World ſhould take Poſſeſſion of their Hearts, and draw them off from their Obedience to God. That he ſtaid expecting further Orders, *&c.*

Having written this Letter, he aſked who would carry it. *Zeid Ebn Waheb*, who was *Omar Ebn Auf*'s Slave, profered his Service. *Abu Obeidah* told him, that ſince he was a Slave, he could not in any caſe diſpoſe of his Service, but muſt firſt aſk his Maſter's Leave. *Zeid* hereupon went to his Maſter, and bowed himſelf down to the Ground, to touch it with his Forehead, according to the manner of Proſtration in the *Eaſtern* Countries: But his Maſter forbad him, being a Man altogether abſtracted from the Love of the Things of this World, and not deſiring any ſuch Reſpect, being wholly intent and fixed upon the other World. He was abſtinent to ſuch a degree, that his whole Inventory conſiſted in theſe few Neceſſaries; a Sword, a Launce, a Horſe, a Camel, a Knapſack, a Platter, and an Alcoran. When any part of the Spoil fell to his Share, he never laid

up any thing for himſelf, but always divided it amongſt his Friends; and if there was any thing left, he ſent it to the *Chaliph*, to be diſtributed among the Poor. *Zeid* having aſked his leave to carry the Letter, he was ſo well pleaſed to ſee ſuch a good Inclination in his Slave, to be a Meſſenger of good News to the *Chaliph*, that he immediately gave him his Freedom. When *Zeid* came near to *Medinah*, he was ſurprized with an unuſual Noiſe; but upon Enquiry, he was informed, that the *Chaliph* was going on Pilgrimage to *Meccah*, and the Prophet's Wives along with him. *Omar*, having heard the News, fell down and worſhipped, ſaying, *O God! Praiſe and Thanks be to thee, for thine abundant Grace.* Having read the Letter, he wept, and ſaid, that *Abu Obeidah* had not been kind to the *Muſlemans*. Then ſitting down upon the Ground, he wrote an Anſwer to *Abu Obeidah*, in which, after having expreſſed with what Satisfaction he received the News of his good Succeſs; he blamed him, for not having been more indulgent to the *Muſlemans*, adding, *That God did not forbid the Uſe of the good Things of this Life to faithful Men, and ſuch as performed good Works: Wherefore he ought to have given them leave to reſt themſelves, and partake freely of thoſe good Things which the Country afforded. That if any of the*

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Saracens had no Family in Arabia, *they might marry in* Syria; *and whoſoever of them wanted any Female-Slaves, might purchaſe as many as he had Occaſion for.* He ordered him to purſue the Enemy, and enter into the Mountainous part of the Country; and then concluded.

Zeid returning to the Army with the *Chaliph*'s Letter, found the Saracens full of Joy; occaſioned by *Caled*'s good Succeſs, who had gone through the Country as far as the *Euphrates*, and taken *Menbigz*, and ſome other neighbouring Towns, as *Berâa* and *Báles*, upon Surrender; the Inhabitants paying down one hundred thouſand Ducats for their preſent Security, and ſubmitting to Tribute for the time to come. This was done in the Month *Moharrem*, of the eighteenth Year of the *Hegirah*; which anſwers partly to *January*, of the Year of our Lord ſix hundred and thirty eight, according to our Account. Our Author muſt here, as in ſome other Places, anſwer for his own Chronology; for the Meſſenger *Zeid* was ſent to *Medinah* preſently after the taking of *Antioch*, which was in *Auguſt*; and there is no account given of any Buſineſs extraordinary that detained him there: Which makes it look ſomething ſtrange, that he ſhould be four Months going and returning from *Antioch* (or *Aleppo*) to *Medinah*, eſpecially conſidering with what

what quick Diſpatch the Saracens uſed to move upon ſuch Occaſions. Omar. Alwákidi.

Abu Obeidah having received the *Chaliph*'s Letter, aſked the *Muſlemans* which of them would undertake to make an Attempt upon the mountainous part of the Country. Whether the Difficulty of the Service, or what other Reaſon diſcouraged them, is uncertain; but no body anſwered him the two firſt times. At laſt *Méiſarah Ebn Meſroùk* proffered his Service, and received at the Hands of the General a black Flag, with his Inſcription upon it in white Letters, THERE IS BUT ONE GOD: *MAHOMET* IS THE APOSTLE OF GOD. He took along with him three hundred choſen *Arabs*, beſides a thouſand Slaves, Blacks, commanded by *Dames*. They found it a very uneaſy Undertaking; for though the Summer came on a-pace, they were forced to make uſe of all the Cloaths they had, and knew very well what to have done with more; for they met with nothing but Froſt and Snow amongſt the Mountains; which was extreamly diſagreeable to their Bodies, who had been brought up under the *Torrid Zone*. Marching a long way, they came to a Village; but finding no body in it (for the Country fled before them) they took what there was, and moved forwards. At laſt they took a Priſoner, who

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informed them, that there were Forces of the Emperor, to the number of thirty thouſand, ſent to guard that part of the Country, not above three Leagues diſtant. They aſked him, whether it was moſt adviſeable to advance towards them, or ſtand their Ground. To which he anſwered, *That it were better for them to ſtay where they were, than to hazard themſelves by going any further among the Mountains.* The *Saracens* having examined him as long as they thought fit, offered him the *Mahometan* Religion; which he refuſing, was beheaded. In a ſhort time after, the *Greeks* came within ſight, and the Battle was joined. *Méiſarah*, overpowered with Multitudes, was ſoon ſurrounded. However he ſent a Meſſenger to *Abu Obeidah*, who made ſuch haſte, that as ſoon as he came into his Preſence, he was not able to ſpeak a Word, but fell down in a Swoon. *Abu Obeidah* having cauſed ſome Water to be ſprinkled on his Face, and refreſhed him with meat and Drink, he came to himſelf, and delivered his Errand. Upon which *Abu Obeidah* ſent *Caled* to *Méiſarah*'s Aſſiſtance with three thouſand Horſe; and after him *Ayâd Ebn Ganam* with two thouſand more. But before they came up, *Abdollâh Ebn Hodâpha*, a *Saracen* of Note, and much beloved by the *Chaliph*, was taken Priſoner, and ſent away towards *Conſtantinople*.

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The *Greeks* perceiving there were freſh Supplies come to the *Saracens*, durſt not run the hazard of another Battle the next Day, but withdrew in the Night, and left their Tents to the *Saracens*. They not thinking it a prudent part to purſue the Enemy any further in that Mountainous Country, returned to *Abu Obeidah*, who writing an Account of the whole Buſineſs to *Medinah*, the *Chaliph* was extremely concerned at the Loſs of *Abdollâh Ebn Hodâpha*, which occaſioned his writing the following Letter to the Emperor *Heraclius*.

In the Name of the moſt merciful God.

[1] Praiſe be to God, Lord of this and the other World [2]: Who has neither [3] Female-Conſort, nor Son. *And the Bleſſing of God be upon* Mahomet, *his Prophet and Apoſtle* [4] *divinely aſſiſted. From the Servant of God,* Omar Ebn Alchitab *to* Heraclius *King of* Greece. *As ſoon as this Letter of mine ſhall come to thy Hands, ſend to me the Priſoner that is with thee; whoſe name is* Abdollâh Ebn Hodâpha: *Which if thou ſhalt do, I ſhall hope that God will direct thee into the* [5] *right Way. But if thou refuſeſt, I ſhall ſend thee Men,* [6] whom Trade and Merchandize ſhall

[1] *Alcoran*, Chap. I. 1. [2] *Alcoran*, Chap. LXXII. 3 [3] Arab. *Sahhibah*. [4] Arab. *Almowayad*. [5] That is into the Profeſſion of the Mahometan Religion. [6] *Alcoran*, Chap. XXIV. 37. LXIII. 9.

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not divert from the Remembrance of God.[7] Health and Happineſs be upon every one that follows the right Way.

I do not queſtion but the Reader will think this Letter writ in a very particular Stile; but it is no other than what might be expected from thoſe moſt inveterate and mortal Enemies of Chriſtianity, who made it always their Buſineſs to treat the Profeſſors of it with the utmoſt Contempt and Averſion. This Priſoner, *Abdollâh Ebn Hodâpha* was *Mahomet*'s Couſin-German. Our Author tells us, that the Emperor made him very large Proffers, if he would have renounced his *Mahometaniſm*; but all in vain. Nor were his Threats more influencing than his Promiſes. It ſeems he proffered him his Liberty, if he would but have made one ſingle Adoration before a Crucifix. The Emperor would have perſwaded him to have drunk Wine, and eat Hogs Fleſh; which he refuſing, was ſhut up into a Room where he had nothing elſe. Upon the fourth Day they viſited him, and found all untouched. The Emperor aſked him, what hindered him from Eating and Drinking? To which he anſwered, *The Fear of God and his Apoſtle: Notwithſtanding* (added he) *I might lawfully have eat it after three Days Abſtinence, yet I abſtained, becauſe I would not*

[7] *Alcoran*, Chap. XX. 49.

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be reproached by the Muſlemans. *Heraclius* having received *Omar*'s Letter, not only diſmiſſed the Priſoner, but gave both him and the Meſſenger that brought the Letter, ſeveral Preſents, and rich Cloaths, and allowed them a ſufficient Guard to conduct them ſafe through his Territories. Beſides all this, he made a Preſent of a coſtly Jewel to *Omar*, who offered it to the Jewellers at *Medinah*; but they were ignorant of the Worth of it. The *Muſlemans* would have perſwaded him to have kept it for his own Uſe; but he ſaid, he could not anſwer that to the Publick. Wherefore it was afterwards ſold, and the Price of it put into the public Treaſury; of which the *Chaliph* was in theſe Days only the Steward or Manager: For though it was all at his Diſpoſal, yet he very ſeldom applyed any of it to his own private Uſe, much leſs to Extravagance and Luxury; but took care to lay it out ſo as it might do moſt Service to the Publick. Omar. Alwâkidi.

We have before acquainted the Reader, that after *Omar* had taken *Jeruſalem*, he divided the Army, and ſent one part of it under *Abu Obeidah*, towards *Aleppo*; the other under *Amrou Ebno'l Aás* to *Ægypt*. *Amrou* did not march directly to *Ægypt*, but continued a while in *Paleſtine*, to take ſome Places there which as yet held out. As he was marching towards *Cæſarea*,

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Cæſarea, the *Saracens* found the Weather extreamly cold. *Sobeih Ebn Hamzah*, eating ſome Grapes at that time, was ſo chilled, that he was ſcarce able to endure it. An old Chriſtian that was preſent, told him, that if he found himſelf cold with eating the Grapes, the beſt Remedy would be to drink ſome of the Juice of them, and withal produced a large Veſſel of Wine. *Sobeih* and ſome of his Friends took the old Man's Advice, and drank ſo freely of his Liquor, that they went ſtaggering to the Army. *Amrou* underſtanding their Condition, wrote to *Abu Obeidah*; by whoſe Order they all received a ſufficient Number of Stripes upon the Soles of their Feet. The refreſhment they received by drinking the Wine, was ſo far, in their Opinion from counter-balancing the Severity of the Puniſhment, that *Sobeih* ſwore he would kill the Fellow that helped him to it; and had been as good as his Word, if one that was preſent had not told him, that the Man was under the Protection of the *Saracens*.

Conſtantine, the Emperor *Heraclius* his Son, guarded that part of the Country where *Amrou* lay, with a conſiderable Army; and frequently ſent Spies (Chriſtian *Arabs*) into his Camp. One of them went one time, and ſat down amongſt ſome *Arabs* of *Ayáman*, or *Arabia Fœlix*, that had made them a Fire. Having converſed

verſed with them as long as was for his Purpoſe, without being ſuſpected; as he was riſing to go away, he trod upon his Veſt and ſtumbled; upon which he ſwore, *By Chriſt*, unawares. The Oath was no ſooner out of his Mouth, but they immediately knew him to be a Chriſtian Spy, and cut him to Pieces in an inſtant. *Amrou* was angry when he heard it, becauſe he would have had the examining him firſt. Beſides, he told them, *That it oftentimes happened, that a Spy, when put to it, came over to them, and embraced the Mahometan Religion.* Upon which he gave a ſtrict Order throughout the Camp, that if ever they met with a Stranger or Spy, they ſhould convey them to him. Omar. Alwákidi.

The Armies drawing near, there came a Chriſtian Prieſt to the *Saracens*, who deſired that an *Emîr*, or *Principal Officer*, might be ſent to *Conſtantine*, to diſcourſe with him. There was a huge, monſtrous Fellow, a Black, whoſe Name was *Belâl Ebn Rébah*, who proffered his Service. But *Amrou* told him, that it would be better to ſend an *Arabian*, who could talk more politely than an *Æthiopian*. *Belâl*, reſolving, if poſſible, to take no Denial, adjured him by God to let him go. To which *Amrou* anſwered, *That ſince he had adjured him by the moſt Mighty, it ſhould be ſo.* This *Belâl* had formerly been *Mahomet's Crier*; that is, the Perſon that calls the People

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People together to Prayers. And never exerciſed that Office (as the [8] Author of the Hiſtory of *Jeruſalem* ſays) after *Mahomet*'s Death, but only once, when *Omar* commanded him to perform that Service at the taking of *Jeruſalem*: Otherwiſe, I ſuppoſe it would have been beneath him to have ſerved any other Perſon, who had been employed after that manner by the Prophet; but the taking of *Jeruſalem*, which had been the Seat of the ancient Prophets, and was a Place very much reverenced by the *Mahometans*, was an extraordinary Occaſion. [9] When he came to the Prieſt, he diſdained to have an *Æthiopian* ſent, and bad him go back again, telling him, that his Maſter *Conſtantine* had not ſent for a Slave, but an Officer. *Belâl*, who valued himſelf very much upon his Office, and expected every one ſhould do ſo too, thought himſelf affronted; and let him know, that he had been no leſs a Perſon than the *Muézzin* of the Apoſtle of God, and that he was able to give his Maſter an Anſwer. But this not being received, he was forced to go back again; and at laſt *Amrou* reſolved to go himſelf. It will not be amiſs to inſert a ſhort Account of their Conference, as delivered by our Author, that the Reader may ſee what ſort of a Notion the *Mahometans* have of ancient Hiſtory.

[8] MS. Arab. Pococ. Num. 362. [9] *Alwákidi.*

When

, When *Amrou* came into *Conſtantine*'s Preſence, he offered him a Seat, but, according to the Practice of the *Saracens*, he refuſed to make uſe of it; chuſing rather to ſit croſs-legged upon the Ground, with his Sword upon his Thigh, and his Launce laid a-croſs before him. *Conſtantine* told him, that the *Arabs* and *Greeks* were near Kindred, and that it was pity they ſhould make War one upon the other. *Amrou* anſwered, *That their Religion was different; upon which ſcore it was lawful for Brothers to quarrel. However*, he ſaid, *he deſired to know which way the* [6] Koreiſhæ *came to be ſo near akin to the* Greeks? *Conſtantine* anſwered (according to our Author) Was not our firſt Father *Adam*, then *Noah*, then *Abraham*, then *Eſau*, then *Iſaac*, which were both Sons of *Abraham* ([7] the Bleſſing of God be upon them all.) Now one Brother ought not to do Injuſtice to another, and quarrel about that Diviſion which was made for them by their Fore-fathers. *Thus far you ſay true*, anſwered *Amrou*, *That* [8] Eſau *begot* Iſaac, *and* Iſhmael *is* Eſau's *Uncle; and ſo we are the Sons of one Father, and* Noah Omar. Alwákidi.

[6] A noble Tribe among the *Arabs*, of which *Mahomet* was. [7] This is an Expreſſion uſed by the *Arab* Writers, whenever they mention any of the ancient Prophets. [8] He makes ſtrange Work of this Genealogy; but the *Arabick* may be read, *Eſau Walado Iſhác*; i. e. *Eſau* is the Son of *Iſaac*; not *wáſada*, begot *Iſaac*. But if, to help him out, we ſhould read it ſo, we contradict him, for juſt before he reckons *Eſau* before *Iſaac*.

was

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was our Father. Now Noah *divided the Land into Parts when he was angry with his Son* Ham; *with which Diviſion they were not pleaſed, but quarrelled about it: And this Land in which you are, is not yours properly, but belongs to the* Amalekites, *who had it before you. For* Noah *divided it among his three Sons,* Sem, Ham, *and* Japhet; *and gave his Son* Sem, Syria, *and what lies round it, from* Arabia Fœlix *and* Hadramut *to* Ammân; *and all the* Arabs[a] *are the Offspring of* Sem *and* Kahtân, *and* Teſm, *and* Jodais, *and* Amalek *who is the Father of the* Amalekites. *To his Son* Ham *he gave the Weſt and Sea-ſhore; and he left* Japhet *between the Eaſt and Weſt*; [a] For the Earth is the Lord's, he gives it an Inheritance to which of his Servants he pleaſes, and the latter End is to the Faithful. *We therefore,* adds *Amrou, deſire to have this ancient Diviſion reſtored, and make things equal after this manner. We will take what is in your Hands, and you ſhall take the Stones and Thorns, and barren Grounds which we poſſeſs, in lieu of theſe pleaſant Rivers, rich Paſtures, and ſtately Buildings. Conſtantine* told him, that the Diviſion was already made, and that it would be great Injuſtice in them not to be content with what had fallen to their Share. To which *Amrou* anſwered, *That they liked the Proviſion and manner of Living in* Syria, *ſo much better than their*

[a] *Alcoran*, Chap. VII. 125.

own

own courſe Fare at home, that they could never think of leaving the Country till they had conquered it, and could ſit down at quiet under thoſe ſhady Trees. A little while after, he told thoſe that were preſent, *That it would be no hard matter for them to continue in the Poſſeſſion of what they had; for it was only changing their Religion, and the Buſineſs was done.* But both that and Payment of Tribute being refuſed, *Amrou* told them, *That there was nothing now left, but to determine it by the Sword. God knows,* ſaid he, *that I have called you to the means by which you might ſave your ſelves, but you are rebellious, juſt as your Father* [3] Eſau *was diſobedient to his Mother: You reckon your ſelves akin to us, but we deſire to have nothing to do with your Affinity, ſo long as you continue Infidels. You, beſides, are the Off-ſpring of* Eſau, *we of* [4] Iſhmael: Omar. Alwákidi.

[3] This the *Mahometans* have from the *Jews*, who believe moſt Europeans to be the Offspring of *Eſau*. *Abarbanel* takes a great deal of Pains to prove it, and thoſe *Jews* I have converſed with are of the ſame Opinion. [4] Amongſt other blind Stories which ſome of the Chriſtian Writers have told of the *Saracens*, that is one, *viz.* That they called themſelves *Saracens*, becauſe they would have the World believe that they were deſcended from *Sarah*, *Abraham's* lawful Wife; being aſhamed of *Hagar* his Slave. But the contrary is moſt evident, for they are neither aſhamed of *Iſhmael* nor *Hagar*, as for *Iſhmael* we have an inſtance in this very place, and for *Hagar*, the Reader may conſult the *Jauharian*, (a famous *Arab* Lexicographer) who in the Word *Agara*, ſays, *Hagar* is the Mother of *Iſhmael*, upon whom be Peace.

And

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And God choſe our Prophet Mahomet *from* Adam, *to the time that he came out of the Loins of his Father; and made him the beſt of the Sons of* Iſhmael, (*and his Father* Iſhmael *was the firſt that ſpoke Arabick*) *and he made the Tribe of* Kenanah *the beſt of the* Arabs; *and the Family of* Koreiſhæ *the beſt of* Kenanah; *and the Off-ſpring of* Haſhem, *the beſt of the* Koreiſhæ; *and the beſt of the Sons of* Haſhem, Abdo'lmutaleb *the Prophet's Grandfather; and ſent the Angel* Gabriel *down to him* [Mahomet] *with Inſpiration.*

The Conference ending without any Hopes of Accomodation, *Amrou* returned to his Army, and both ſides prepared for Battle, as ſoon as a convenient Opportunity ſhould offer it ſelf. One Day, there came forth out of *Conſtantine*'s Army, an Officer very richly dreſſed, which made ſeveral of the *Saracens* deſirous of fighting with him, in hopes of carrying off his Spoil. *Amrou* uſed to ſay, *That he would have no Man go to fight out of Greedineſs; for the Reward which was to be expected from God, was much better than the Spoil of the Enemy.* He added, *That whoſoever was killed in Battle, loſt his Life either for the ſake of God, or elſe for ſome other End which he propoſed to himſelf. If the former, then God would be his Reward; but if he propoſed any temporal Thing, he was to expect nothing elſe, and that he had heard the Prophet ſpeak to the*

ſame

ſame Purpoſe. There came forth to this Officer a beardleſs Stripling, whoſe forward Zeal had prompted him on to leave *Arabia Fœlix*, and venture himſelf in the Wars. His Mother and Siſter had hitherto bore him Company in his Travels. This Youth uſed to ſay, *That it was not the Delights of* Syria, *that moved him to go thither, (becauſe the Delights of this World were fading, but thoſe of the other durable.) But that his Deſire was to fight for the Service of God, ſeeking the favour of God and his Apoſtle. Becauſe he had heard one ſay, that the Martyrs ſhall be maintained with their Lord. How can that be,* anſwered his Siſter, *how can they be maintained when dead?* He anſwered, *That he had heard one that was acquainted with the Apoſtle of God, ſay, That the Spirits of the Martyrs ſhall be put into the Crops of green Birds that live in Paradiſe, which Birds ſhall eat the Fruits of Paradiſe, and drink the Rivers; this is the Maintenance which God has provided for them.* He went out to fight with the Chriſtian, after he had taken his laſt Leave of his Mother and Siſter, and told them, that they ſhould meet again at that [9] large Water which belongs to the Apoſtle of God in Paradiſe. The Chriſtian Officer not only killed this Youth, but two or three more. At laſt *Serjabil Ebn Haſanah* came forth to him;

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[9] *Arab. Hhaud.*

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but he was ſo emaciated with Watching and Faſting, that he was not able to ſtand before him. The Chriſtian at laſt got him down, ſat upon him, and was juſt going to cut his Throat; when on a ſudden there came a Horſeman out of the Grecian Army, who immediately kicked the Chriſtian off, and taking him at Advantage, ſtruck his Head off. *Serjabil*, ſurprized at this unexpected Deliverance, aſked him, who he was, and from whence he came? *I am*, ſaid he, *the unhappy* Tulèiha Ebn Chowáiled, *who pretended to propheſy like the Apoſtle of God; and lyed againſt God, ſaying, that Inſpiration came down to me from Heaven.* *Serjabil* anſwered, *O Brother! God's Mercy is infinite; and he that repents, and forſakes, and turns himſelf to God; he accepts of his Repentance, and forgives him what he has done; for the Prophet ſays*, Repentance takes away what was done before it. *And doſt thou not know, O* Ebn Chowáiled, *that God ſaid to our Prophet*, My Mercy is extended to every Creature that deſires it? adding moreover whatever he could to comfort him. Notwithſtanding which, conſcious to himſelf of the Groſſneſs of his Crime, he could not find in his Heart to return to the *Saracens*; but being very much preſſed to it by *Serjabil*, he at laſt told him in plain Terms, that he was afraid of *Caled*, (the Scourge of falſe Prophets, who broke

broke them to Pieces at firſt, and killed *Moſeilamah*, the Chief of them) *Serjabil* aſſured him, that *Caled* was not preſent, but ſtaid at *Aleppo* with *Abu Obeidah*. At laſt, with much ado, he perſwaded him to go with him to the Army. This *Tuleiha*, after *Moſeilamah* was killed, withdrew himſelf out of *Arabia*, which would then have been ſoon too hot for him, and went and lived privately with a *Mahometan* in *Syria*, who maintained him for a while; till at laſt they being very familiar, and thoroughly acquainted, *Tuléiha* made himſelf known, and gave him an Account of his whole Story. His Landlord, as ſoon as he underſtood his Character, treated him with the utmoſt Averſion, and would entertain him no longer, but turned him out of Doors. Reduced to this Extremity, he was almoſt at his Wits End, and had ſome Thoughts of taking Ship, and retiring into ſome Iſland: But *Conſtantine*'s Army coming into thoſe Parts before he could put his Deſign in Execution, he choſe rather to liſt himſelf under him, in hopes of finding an Opportunity of ingratiating himſelf with the Muſlemans. Omar. Alwákidí.

Being at laſt prevailed upon to go back to the *Saracens*, he was very courteouſly received by *Amrou*, who not only gave him Thanks for his ſingular Service, but upon his expreſſing his Apprehenſions of *Caled*, promiſed to ſecure him,

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and wrote a recommendatory Letter to *Omar*, acquainted him with the ſignal Proof which *Tulêiha* had given of his ſincere and unfeigned Repentance. *Tulêiha* found the *Chaliph* at *Mecçah:* Delivering the Letter, and withal telling him that he repented, *Omar* aſked who he was? and had no ſooner heard his Name mentioned, but he made off as faſt as he could, ſaying, *Alas for thee! If I forgive thee, how ſhall I give an Account to God of the Murder of* Ocâſah? *Tulêiha* anſwered, Ocâſah *indeed ſuffered Martyrdom by my Hands, which I am very ſorry for, and I hope that God will forgive me what I have done.* *Omar* deſired to know what Proof he could give of his Sincerity; but having peruſed *Amrou*'s Letter, he was abundantly ſatisfied, and kept him with him till he returned to *Medinah*, after which he employed him in his Wars againſt the *Perſians*.

To return to *Conſtantine*'s Army. The Weather was very cold, and the Chriſtians were quite diſheartened, having been frequently beaten and diſcouraged daily with the encreaſing Power of the *Saracens*; ſo that a great many grew weary of the Service, and withdrew themſelves from the Army. *Conſtantine*, having no Hopes of the Victory, and fearing leſt the *Saracens* ſhould ſeize *Cæſarea*, took an Opportunity in a tempeſtuous Night to move off; and left his

Camp

Camp to the *Saracens*. *Amrou* acquainting *Abu Obeidah* with all that had happened, received expreſs Orders to march directly to *Cæſarea*, where he promiſed to join him ſpeedily, in order to go againſt *Tripoli*, *Accah* and *Tyre*. In a little time after *Tripoli* was ſurprized by the Treachery of *Youkinna*, who having gotten it on a ſudden, and without any Noiſe, there came thither a little while after, about fifty Ships with Proviſion and Arms for *Cyprus* and *Crete*, which were to go to *Conſtantine*. The Officers not knowing that *Tripoli* was fallen into the Hands of new Maſters, made no ſcruple of landing there, where they were courteouſly received by *Youkinna*, who proffered the utmoſt of his Service, and promiſed to go along with them. But immediately ſeized both them and their Ships, and delivered the Town into the Hands of *Caled*, who was juſt come. Omar. Alwâkidi.

With theſe Ships the Traytor *Youkinna* goes to *Tyre*, where he tells the Inhabitants, that he had brought Arms and Proviſion for *Conſtantine*'s Army. Upon which he was kindly received, and he with nine hundred of his Men landed, and were entertained. But being betrayed by one of his own Men, he and his Crew were ſeized and bound; receiving all the while ſuch Treatment from the Soldiers, as their villainous Practices beſt deſerved. In the

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mean time *Yezid Ebn Abi Sophyan*, being ſent by *Abu Obeidah* from the Siege of *Cæſarea*, came within Sight of *Tyre*. The Governour perceiving this, cauſed *Youkínna* and his Men to be conveyed to the Caſtle, and there ſecured. Having done this, he prepares for the Defence of the Town; and perceiving that *Yezid* had but a ſmall Number, (his Army not exceeding two Thouſand) he reſolved to make a Salley. In the mean time, the reſt of the Inhabitants ran up to the Walls, to ſee the Engagement. Whilſt they were fighting, *Youkínna* and his Men were ſet at Liberty by one *Baſil*, of whom they give the following Account: *viz.* "That this *Baſil* going one Day to pay a Viſit "to *Bohéirah* the Monk, the Caravan of the "*Koreiſhæ* came by, with which were *Ca-* "*dijah*'s Camels, which were looked after by "*Mahomet*. He looked towards the Caravan, "in the Middle of which was *Mahomet*, and "there was a Cloud upon him to keep him "from the Sun. Then the Caravan alighted, "and *Mahomet*, leaning againſt an old wither- "ed Tree, it immediately brought forth Leaves. "*Bohéirah* perceiving this, made an Entertain- "ment for the Caravan, and invited them in "to the Monaſtery; *Mahomet* ſtaying behind "with the Camels. *Bohéirah* miſſing him, aſk- "ed if there were all of them? Yes, they ſaid,

"all

" all but a little Boy they had left to look af- Omar. Alwákidi.
" ter their Things, and feed the Camels. *What*
" *is his Name*; ſays *Bohéirah*. They told him
" *Mahommed Ebn Abdo'llah*. *Bohéirah* aſked,
" if his Father and Mother was not dead, and
" if he was not brought up by his Grand-
" father and his Uncle. Being ſatisfied that it
" was ſo, he ſaid, O Koreiſh! *Set a great Value*
" *upon him, for he is your Lord, and by him will*
" *your Power be great both in this World, and*
" *that to come*; *for he is your Ornament and*
" *Glory*. They asked him how he knew that?
" *Becauſe*, anſwered *Bohéirah*, *as you were*
" *coming, there was never a Tree, nor Stone,*
" *nor Clod, but bowed itſelf and worſhiped God.*
" *Bohéirah* beſides told this *Baſil*, that a great
" many Prophets had leaned againſt this Tree,
" and ſat under it, but it never bore any Leaves
" before, ſince it was withered. *And I heard*
" *him ſay*, (ſays this ſame *Baſil*) *This is the*
" *Prophet concerning whom* Iſa (*Jeſus*) *ſpake,*
" *happy is he that believes in him, and follows*
" *him, and gives Credit to his Miſſion.*" This
Baſil, after the Viſit to *Bohéirah*, had gone to
Conſtantinople, and other Parts of the *Greek* Em-
peror's Territories, and upon Information of
the great Succeſs of the Followers of this Pro-
phet, was abundantly convinced of the Truth
of his Miſſion. This inclined him, having ſo

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fair an Opportunity offered, to releaſe *Youkinna* and his Men; who ſending word to the Ships, the reſt of their Forces landed and joined them. In the mean time, a Meſſenger in Diſguiſe was ſent to acquaint *Yezid* with what was done. As ſoon as he returned, *Youkinna* was for falling upon the Townſmen upon the Wall; but *Baſil* ſaid, *Perhaps God might lead ſome of them into the right Way*; and perſwaded him rather to place the Men ſo, as their coming down from the Wall might be prevented. This done, they cry out *La Ilaha*, &c. The People perceiving themſelves betrayed, and the Priſoners at Liberty, were in the utmoſt confuſion; none of them being able to ſtir a Step, or lift up an Hand. Thoſe in the Camp, hearing the Noiſe in the City, knew what was the Occaſion of it, and *Youkinna* opened the Gates and let them in. Thoſe that were in the City, fled; ſome one way, and ſome another; and were purſued by the *Saracens*, and put to the Sword. Thoſe upon the Wall, cried, *Quarter: Yezid* told them, That ſince they had not ſurrendered, but the City was taken by Force, they were all Slaves. *However*, ſaid he, *we of our own accord ſet you free, upon Condition you pay Tribute; and if any of you has a mind to change his Religion, he ſhall fare as well as we do.* The greateſt part of them turned *Mahometans*,

tans. When *Conſtantine* heard of the Loſs of *Tripoli* and *Tyre*, his Heart failed him, and taking ſhipping with his Family and Wealth, he departed for *Conſtantinople*. All this while *Amrou Ebno'l Aâs* lay before *Cæſarea*. In the Morning, when the People came to enquire after *Conſtantine*, and could hear no tidings of him nor his Family; they adviſed together, and with one Conſent ſurrendered the City to *Amrou*, paying down for their Security two thouſand Pieces of Silver, and delivering into his Hands whatſoever belonged to *Conſtantine*, that he had not carried away with him. Thus was *Cæſarea* loſt, in the Year of our Lord ſix hundred and thirty nine, being the ſeventeenth Year of the *Hegirah*,[1] and the fifth of *Omar*'s Reign; which anſwers to the twenty ninth Year of the Reign of the Emperor *Heraclius*. Upon which, thoſe other Places in *Syria*, which as yet held out, namely, *Ramlah*, *Accah*, *Joppe*, *Aſcalon*, *Gaza*, *Sichem* [or *Nabolos*) and *Tiberias* ſurrendered, and in a little time after, the People of *Beirout*, *Zidon*, *Jabalah*, and *Laodicea*, followed their Example; ſo that there remained nothing more to be done in *Syria*, but all was entirely ſubdued to the *Saracens*, who had not ſpent above ſix Years from the time of their firſt Expedition in *Abu-*

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[1] *Hegirah* 17, *A. D.* 639.

beker's

Omar. *beker*'s Reign) in ſubduing that large, wealthy and populous Country.

THUS have I given the Reader the beſt Account I was able, of the *Saracens* Conqueſt of *Syria*; following all along, as to Matter of Fact, my Author *Alwákidi*, who has written the moſt particular Relation of that part of the Hiſtory that I have yet met with; or that is extant, to the beſt of my Knowledge. As for that little which remains, in order to the compleating the Lives of this and the ſucceeding *Chaliph*, ſince the ſhort time of my Continuance at *Oxford* would not permit me to ſearch for, or excerp any more Manuſcripts, I muſt be content to depend upon thoſe Authors which have been already publiſhed; as [2] *Eutychius*, *Elmakîn*, and *Abu'lpharagius*: In which, tho' we have not ſo large and particular an Account as in the former Part of our Hiſtory; yet the Reader will find ſomething which ſhall ſtill contribute to the better Knowledge of that People, and increaſe his Admiration at the wonderful Succeſs of their Arms, by which they arrived at that ſtupendious Greatneſs.

Syria, being conquered, remained not long in the Poſſeſſion of thoſe Perſons who had the chief Hand in ſubduing it; for in the eigh-

[2] *Eutychius*, *Elmakin*, and *Abu'lpharagius*.

teenth

teenth Year of the *Hegirah*, which anſwers moſtly to the Year of our Lord ſix hundred and thirty nine. There was ſuch terrible Mortality both of men and Beaſts, in *Syria*, particularly at *Emáus*, and the adjacent Territory, that the *Arabs* called that Year, [3] *The Year of Deſtruction*, by way of Diſtinction. The *Saracens* loſt by that Plague five and twenty Thouſand Men, among which were *Abu Obeidah*, (who was then fifty eight Years old) *Serjabil Ebn Haſanah*, formerly *Mahomet*'s Secretary, and *Yezid Ebn Abi Sophyan*, with ſeveral other *Saracens* of Note. [4] *Caled* ſurvived them about three Years, and then died; but the Place of his Burial (conſequently of his Death, for they did not uſe in thoſe Days to carry them far) is uncertain; ſome ſay at *Hems*; others at *Medinah*. Omar.

Amrou Ebno'l Aâs, having ſtaid as long in *Syria* as was neceſſary, purſuant to the *Chaliph*'s Command, prepared for his Expedition into *Ægypt*. Whilſt he was upon his March, whether it proceeded from Envy, which always attends great Men, or whether *Othman Ebn Affâni* did not think him ſo proper a Perſon for ſuch a Service; certain it is, that *Omar* was perſwaded by ſome that were about him,

[3] *Amo'l remádah.* [4] Author of the Hiſtory of *Jeruſalem*, above cited.

to

Omar. to recall him. That *Omar* himſelf entertained a good Opinion of him, and that he wrote to him rather to gratify the importunate Humours of his Friends, than out of any Diſlike, ſeems plain from the Contents of the Letter. For whereas he could have commanded him poſitively to have returned, he writes only thus: *If this Letter comes to you before you get into* Ægypt, *return. But if you be entered into* Ægypt, *when the Meſſenger comes to you, go on with the Bleſſing of God, and aſſure yourſelf, that if you want any Supplies, I will take Care to ſend them.* The Meſſenger overtook *Amrou* before he was out of *Syria*; who either ſuſpecting, or having received ſecret Information of the Buſineſs, ordered him to wait upon him, till he ſhould be at leiſure to read the Letter. In the mean time he haſtens his March, fully reſolved not to open it till he came into the Confines of *Ægypt*. When he came to a Place called *Ariſh*, having aſſembled the Officers in his Tent, he called for the Meſſenger, and opened the Letter with the ſame Gravity and Formality as if he had been altogether ignorant of the Contents of it. Having read it, he told the Company what was in it, and enquired of them, whether the Place where they then were belonged to *Syria* or *Ægypt*. They anſwered, to *Ægypt*. *Then*, ſaid *Amrou*, *we will go on.*

From

From thence he went to *Pharmah*; which he took after a Month's Siege. From thence to *Miſrah*, (formerly *Memphis*) now *Cairo*, ſituate on the *Weſtern* Bank of the River *Nilus*, and which had been the Seat of the ancient *Ægyptian* Kings. This Place the *Greeks* had fortified, as being the moſt conſiderable (except *Alexandria*) in all that Kingdom. There was an Ancient Caſtle there, of great Strength. The *Greeks* made a large Moat or Trench round about it, into which they threw great Quantities of Nails, and Iron Spikes, to make it more difficult for the *Muſlemans* to paſs. *Amrou* with four thouſand Men laid hard Siege to it; but when he had been there about ſeven Months, and could do nothing, he was forced to ſend to the *Chaliph* for freſh Supplies; who, as ſoon as might be, recruited him with four thouſand more. The Præfect or Lieutenant of *Miſrah*, that held it for the Emperor *Heraclius*, was one *Mokaukas*, of the Sect of the *Jacobites*, and a mortal Enemy to the *Greeks*. He had no deſign at all to ſerve the Emperor, but to provide for himſelf; having behaved himſelf ſo ill, that he durſt not come into the Emperor's Preſence. For when *Coſroës*, the *Perſian*, had beſieged *Conſtantinople*, *Mokaukas* perceiving the Emperor in Diſtreſs, and daily expecting his Ruin, thought he had a fair Opportunity of-

Omar.

Omar. offered of making his Fortune, and took all the Tribute of *Ægypt* into his own Hand, without giving Account to the Emperor of one Penny. From that time, being conſcious to himſelf of his Deſerts, he uſed all the means he could to prejudice and hinder the Emperor; ſo natural is it for Men to hate thoſe whom they have injured. I ſhall not interrupt the ſmooth Courſe of Hiſtory with examining how far this Account agrees with the *Greek* Hiſtorians; but only ſay, that my Author, *Eutychius*, was himſelf Patriarch of *Alexandria*: *Mokaukas* his chief Care was not to defend the Caſtle in good earneſt, but to ſurrender it ſo as to procure good Terms for himſelf, and ſecure that vaſt Treaſure which he had ſo ill gotten, whatever became of all the *Greeks* and the Orthodox Chriſtians, whom he mortally hated. There was in the River, between the beſieged Caſtle and the oppoſite Bank, a little Iſland: *Mokaukas* perſwades the *Greeks* to go with him out of the Caſtle into that Iſland: telling them, *That ſince* Amrou *had freſh Supplies ſent him, it would be impoſſible for them to defend the Caſtle much longer; and that if they went into that Iſland, the River would be a much better Security for them, than the Caſtle.* This he did on purpoſe to leave the Caſtle naked, that the *Saracens* might take it the more eaſily, and upon that

that account grant him the better Terms. At laſt he prevailed, and they went out of the South-Gate, and going aboard ſome little Veſſels which they had there, they quickly landed in the Iſland, having left only a few *Greeks* to defend the Caſtle, for all the *Cophties* went out with *Mokaukas*. The *Nile* then began to overflow. Then *Mokaukas* ſent Meſſengers to *Amrou* with Orders to this Effect; "You *Arabians* have invaded our Country, and given us a "great deal of Trouble and Diſturbance, without any Provocation on our Side: And now "aſſure yourſelves, that the *Nile* will quickly "ſurround your Camp, and you will all fall "into our Hands. However, ſend ſome body "to treat with us, and let us know your "Buſineſs, and what you demand; perhaps "when we come to talk about the Matter, "Things may be ſo ſettled, as both Parties "may be made eaſy, and a Peace concluded." *Mokaukas* his Meſſengers had no ſooner delivered their Errand, but *Amrou* diſpatched *Abadah Ebno'l Samet*, a Black, with Orders to go to *Mokaukas* with the Meſſengers, and tell him his Mind. *Abadah* coming into *Mokaukas* his Preſence, he bad him ſit down, and aſked him what they (meaning the *Arabs*) meant, and what they would have. *Abadah* gave him the ſame Anſwer as the *Saracens* always uſed to do

Omar.

to

Omar. to all that aſked them that Queſtion; telling him, *That he had three Things to propoſe to him by the Command of* Amrou, *who had received the ſame Order from his Maſter* Omar *the Chaliph*; viz. *That they ſhould either change their Religion, and become Mahometans, and ſo have a Right and Title to all Privileges in common with them; Or elſe pay perpetual Tribute Yearly, and ſo come under their Protection; Or elſe they muſt fight it out till the Sword decided the Controverſy between them.* Theſe, as we have obſerved before, were the Conditions which they propoſed to all People where they came: The propagating their Religion being to them a juſt Occaſion of making War upon any Nation whatſoever. To theſe hard Terms *Mokaukas* made Anſwer, *That as to the firſt of them they would never ſubmit; but he and his Friends the* Cophties *would willingly pay Tribute.* The *Greeks* obſtinately refuſed to become Tributaries, and were reſolved to fight it out to the laſt: but *Mokaukas* cared not what became of them, ſo he might ſave himſelf and his Money. *Abadah* having finiſhed this Buſineſs, returned from the Caſtle to the Camp; and when he had acquainted *Amrou* with all that had paſſed, and that there were only a few *Greeks* in the Caſtle; the *Saracens* renewed their Aſſault, and *Zobair* ſcaled the Walls, and cried out, *Allàh Acbar.*

Acbar. The *Greeks* perceiving that the Caſtle was loſt, went into their Boats as faſt as they could, and eſcaped to the Iſland. The *Saracens*, poſſeſſed of the Caſtle, killed and took Priſoners thoſe few that remained. The *Greeks* now plainly underſtanding *Mokaukas* his Fraud, durſt truſt themſelves no longer ſo near him, but going aboard their Ships, got to Shore, and marched to *Keram'l Shoraik*, a place between *Cairo* and *Alexandria*, and put themſelves into as good a Poſture of Defence as they could. In the mean time *Mokaukas* diſcourſed with *Amrou* about the Conditions of Peace; which were, *That all the* Cophties *which lived both above and below* Cairo *ſhall pay yearly two Ducats, without any Difference or Diſtinction to be made between Rich or Poor; only Boys under ſixteen Years of Age, decrepit old Men, and all Women, were exempted from paying any thing.* The Number of the *Cophties* which were then polled, was ſix Millions; according to which Account, the yearly Tribute of *Cair*, and the neighbouring Territory, amounted to twelve Millions of Ducats. *Mokaukas* begged of *Amrou*, that he might be always reckoned among the *Cophties*, and taxed as they were; declaring, that he deſired to have nothing in common with the *Greeks*, for he was none of them, nor their Religion; but had only for a while diſ- Omar.

Omar.

ſembled the Matter, for fear of his Life; and intreated him never to make Peace with the *Grecks*, but perſecute them to Death; and for his own part, he deſired that when he died, he might be buried in St. *John*'s Church in *Alexandria*. All this *Amrou* promiſed to perform, upon Condition that the *Cophties* ſhould be obliged to entertain any *Muſleman* whatſoever, who had occaſion to paſs through the Country, three Days *gratis*, and repair two Bridges which were broken, and prepare Places for the Entertainment of himſelf and his Army, and take care that the Country People ſhould bring in Proviſion to be ſold in the Camp, and clear the Way from *Cairo* to *Alexandria*, (which he was then going to beſiege) building ſuch Bridges as were neceſſary for the Army to march. Theſe Terms were readily accepted by the *Cophties*, who aſſiſted them with every thing they wanted. *Amrou* marched till he came to *Keramo'l Shoraik*, where the *Greeks* that fled from *Cairo* were. They fought three Days continually, but at laſt the *Greeks* were forced to give way. They had ſome other Battles before they came to *Alexandria*, in which the *Saracens* were always ſuperior. Thoſe *Greeks* which eſcaped, retired to *Alexandria*, where they made the beſt preparation they could for a Siege.

Amrou

Amrou was not long after them, but quickly came up, and laid Siege to the City. However, the *Greeks* made a ſtout Reſiſtance, and ſallied out frequently, ſo that there was a great many killed on both ſides. The *Saracens* at laſt made a vigorous Attack upon one of the Towers, and entered it; the *Greeks* all the while defending it to their utmoſt. They fought a conſiderable time in the Tower, till the *Saracens* at laſt were preſſed upon ſo hard, that they were forced to retire. In this Attempt, *Amrou* the General, *Muſlemah Ebno'l Mochalled*, and *Werdan*, *Amrou*'s Slave, were taken Priſoners. [3]Being brought before the Governour; he aſked them what they meant by running about the Country after this manner, and diſturbing their Neighbours? *Amrou* anſwered according to the uſual Form, and told him, that they deſigned to make them either Muſlemans or Tributaries before they had done. But this reſolute Anſwer of his had like to have coſt him his Life; for the Governour having taken notice of his Behaviour, concluded that he was no ordinary Perſon, and ſpoke to ſome that ſtood near him to cut off his Head. *Werdan*, his Slave, underſtood *Greek*; and as ſoon as he heard what the Governour ſaid, took his Maſter *Amrou* by the Collar, and gave

Omar.

[3] The ſame Story is told with ſome Variation of Circumſtances both by *Elmakîn* and *Alwâkidî*.

Omar.

him a Box on the Ear; telling him, *That he was always putting himſelf forward, and prating, when 'twould better become him to hold his Tongue: That he was a mean contemptible Fellow, and that he would adviſe him to learn more Manners, and let his Betters ſpeak before him.* By this time, *Muſlemah Ebno'l Mochalled* had bethought himſelf, and told the Governour, *That their General had Thoughts of raiſing the Siege: That* Omar *the* Chaliph *had wrote to him touching that Matter; and deſigned to ſend an honourable Embaſſy, conſiſting of ſeveral worthy Perſons, and Men of Note, to treat with him about Matters; and if he pleaſed to let them go, they would acquaint their General how courteouſly they had been uſed, and employ the utmoſt of their Endeavours to promote an Accommodation.* He added, *That he did not in the leaſt queſtion, but when the* Chaliph's *Embaſſadors had treated with him, things would be made very eaſy on both Sides, and the Siege ſpeedily raiſed.* Our Hiſtorian tells us, that this impolitic Governour obſerving how *Werdan* treated his Maſter, concluded him to have been as mean as *Werdan* repreſented him, and believed the Story that *Muſlemah* had told him, concerning *Omar*'s ſending ſome of the chief *Arabs* to treat with him. Wherefore, conſidering that it would be of greater Conſequence to kill ſix or ten conſide-

rable

rable Men, than three or four of the vulgar; he diſmiſſed theſe, in hopes of catching the other. They were no ſooner out of Danger, but they ſhouted out as loud as they could, *Allàh Acbar:* And when the *Greeks* upon the Wall perceived thoſe great Tokens of Joy, which were ſhewn in the Camp upon their Return, they knew very well, that they were not ſuch Perſons as the Governour had taken them for, and too late repented their letting them go. Quickly after, the *Saracens* renewed their Aſſault, and ſo ſtreightned the *Alexandrians*, that they were not able to hold out any longer. At laſt the City was taken, and the *Greeks* which were in it, were diſperſed; ſome conſiderable Parties of them going up further into the County, others getting off to Sea; ſo that the *Saracens* entered, and [1] took Poſſeſſion, after they had beſieged it fourteen Months, and loſt twenty-three thouſand Men before it. Omar.

Amrou, to make all things ſecure, and prevent any Alarm or Diſturbance which might follow; thought it proper to ſecure thoſe *Greeks*, which, eſcaping from the Siege of *Alexandria*, had gone further up into the Country; reaſonably concluding, that ſo long as there was any Body of them in Arms, the *Saracens* could not enjoy their new Poſſeſſions in Peace and Secu-

[1] *Hegirah* 20. A. D. 640.

Omar. rity. He therefore marches out of *Alexandria* upon this Deſign, leaving but a few of his *Saracens* behind him in the Town, as apprehending no Danger on that ſide. During his Abſence, the *Greeks* who had gone aboard their Ships at the taking the Town, and whoſe Return was not in the leaſt feared or ſuſpected; came on a ſudden, and ſurprized the Town, and killed all the *Saracens* that were in it. This quickly came to *Amrou*'s Ear; upon which he returned to *Alexandria* with the greateſt Speed; where he found the Remnant of the *Greeks* which came back from Sea, already poſſeſſed of the Caſtle. They gave him a warm Reception, and fought bravely: At laſt, being over-powered, as many of them as could get fairly off, were obliged to retire to their Ships, and try their Fortune at Sea once more, leaving *Amrou* and his *Saracens* in full and quiet Poſſeſſion. This done, *Amrou* acquaints the *Chaliph* with his Succeſs; letting him know withal, that the *Muſſemans* were deſirous of plundering the City. *Omar* having received his Letter, gave him Thanks for his Service; but blamed him for ſo much as once mentioning the plundering of ſo rich a City; and charged him ſtrictly, that he ſhould by no means ſuffer the Soldiers to make any Waſte, or ſpoil any thing in it; but that he ſhould carefully treaſure up what was valuable,

able, to help him to defray Charges in the time of War: And that the Tribute which was raiſed in that Part of the Country ſhould be laid up at *Alexandria*, to ſupply the Neceſſities of the *Muſlemans*. Omar.

Then they polled the Inhabitants of *Alexandria*; which being taken, all *Ægypt* followed the Fortune of its *Metropolis*, and the Inhabitants compounded for their Lives, Fortunes, and free Liberty of living in the Profeſſion of their own Religion, at the Expence of two Ducats a Year, without any Diſtinction; except any Man held any Land, Farm or Vineyard. For in ſuch Caſes, every one paid proportionably to the yearly Value of what he held. So that there aroſe a moſt prodigious Revenue to the *Chaliph*. After the *Saracens* were once arrived to this pitch, it is no wonder if they went further; for what would not ſuch a Revenue do in ſuch Hands? They knew very well how to huſband their Money, being ſumptuous at that time in nothing but their Places of publick Worſhip. Their Diet was plain and ſimple: No Wine, nor any of thoſe Dainties, the Products of modern Luxury, which ſpoil the Stomach, and deſtroy Mens Conſtitutions, appeared upon their Tables. Their chief Drink was Water; their Food conſiſted in a great meaſure in Milk, Rice, and the Fruits of the Earth.

Omar.

The *Arabians* had as yet applyed themſelves to no manner of Learning, nor the Study of any thing but Poetry in their own Language, which they underſtood very well, after their way, and valued themſelves upon, long before *Mahomet*'s time, being altogether ignorant of the Sciences, and every Language but their own. *Amrou* however, though no Scholar, was a Man of quick Parts, and a good Capacity, and one that, when his Affairs would give him leave, was more delighted with the Converſation of learned Men, and Rational and Philoſophical Diſcourſes, than Men of his Education commonly uſed to be. [6] There was at that time in *Alexandria*, one *John*, ſirnamed, *The Grammarian*; a Man eminent for Learning; with whoſe Converſation *Amrou* was very well pleaſed, and would oftentimes take delight in hearing him diſcourſe in ſeveral Sciences, and aſk him Queſtions. The Man, perceiving the great Reſpect ſhown him by *Amrou*, ventured one Day to petition him for the Books in the *Alexandrian* Library; telling him, *That he perceived he had taken an Account of all Things which he thought valuable in the City, and ſealed up all the Repoſitories and Treaſuries, but had taken no notice of the Books. That, if they would have been any way uſeful to him, he would not have been ſo bold as to*

[6] *Abu'lpharagius.*

aſk

aſk for them; but ſince they were not, he deſired he might have them. *Amrou* told him, *That he had deſired a thing which was altogether out of his Power to grant; and that he could by no means diſpoſe of the Books, without having firſt aſked leave of the* Chaliph: *However,* he ſaid, *he'd write, and ſee what might be done in it.* This he accordingly performed, and having given a due Character of the Abilities of this learned Man, and acquainted him with his Petition; the *Chaliph* returned this Anſwer, *What is contained in theſe Books you mention, is either agreeable to what is written in the Book of God* (meaning the *Alcoran*) *or it is not: If it be, then the* Alcoran *is ſufficient without them: If otherwiſe, 'tis fit they ſhould be deſtroyed.* *Amrou,* in Obedience to the *Chaliph*'s Command, diſtributed the Books throughout all the City, amongſt thoſe that kept warm Baths, (of which there was at that time in *Alexandria* no fewer than four thouſand) to heat the Baths with. And notwithſtanding the great Havock that muſt needs be made of them at this rate; the Number of Books which the Diligence of former Princes had collected was ſo great, that it was ſix Months before they were conſumed. A Loſs never to be made up to the learned World. This *John, the Grammarian,* was an *Alexandrian* by Birth, of the Sect of the *Jacobites:* Afterwards he denyed the Trinity.

Omar.

Being

Omar. Being admoniſhed by the Biſhops of *Ægypt* to renounce his erroneous Opinions, he was, upon his Refuſal, excommunicated.

Amrou being now poſſeſſed of *Ægypt*, began to look a little further towards the *Weſtern* part of *Africa*; and in a ſhort time made himſelf Maſter of all that Country which lies between *Barcah* and *Zeweilah*; the Inhabitants of *Barcah* bringing in the Tribute impoſed upon them punctually at the time prefixed, without any Collectors going among them to gather it. While theſe Things were doing in *Ægypt*, there was a Dearth in *Arabia*; ſo that the Inhabitants of *Medinah* and the neighbouring Country, were reduced to a ſtarving Condition. Upon which *Omar* wrote to *Amrou*, and acquainting him with their Extremity, ordered him to ſupply the *Arabs* with Corn out of *Ægypt*. Which *Amrou* did in ſuch Plenty, that the Train of Camels which were loaden with it, reached in a continued Line from *Ægypt* to *Medinah*; ſo that when the foremoſt of them were got to *Medinah*, the latter part of the Gang were ſtill in the Bounds of *Ægypt*. But this way of conveying their Proviſion being too tedious and chargeable, the *Chaliph* commanded *Amrou* to dig a Paſſage from the *Nile* to the *Red Sea*, for the more ſpeedy and eaſy Conveyance of their Proviſion to the *Arabian* Shore. Shortly after

after *Amrou* took *Tripoli*: And if we ſhould conſider the Greatneſs of his Succeſs, it might ſeem wonderful, though there had been nothing done in any other Part. But their victorious Arms made no leſs Progreſs *Eaſtward*, and the *Mahometan* Creſcent began now to ſhed its malignant Influence upon as large and conſiderable Dominions, as had ever been flown over by the *Roman* Eagle. [3] About this time, *Aderbijân*, *Ainwerdah*, *Harrân*, *Roha*, *Rakkah*, *Niſibin*, *Ehwâz*, *Siwâs*, and *Choráſan*, were all brought under Subjection to the *Saracens*; in which Conqueſts there were, without doubt, a great many noble Actions performed, and well worth the relating; but the particular Hiſtory of that part of their Conqueſts not being yet come into my Hands, the Reader is deſired to excuſe me. Omar.

About two Years after, *Omar* the *Chaliph* was killed. The Account we have of it is this: There was one *Phirouz*, a *Perſian*, of the Sect of the *Magi*, or *Perſees*; who, having, as being of a different Religion from the *Muſlemans*, a Tribute of two Pieces of Silver impoſed upon him daily by his Maſter, made his Complaint to *Omar*, to have ſome part of it remitted. *Omar* told him, he did not think it at all unreaſonable, conſidering he might well afford it out of what he earned. *Phirouz* was ſo provoked with this

[3] *Hegirah* 21. A.D. 641.

Anſwer,

Omar. Anſwer, that he did as good as threaten the *Chaliph* to his Face; but he took little notice of it. Not long after, he waited his Opportunity; and whilſt *Omar* was ſaying the Morning Prayer in the Moſque, he ſtabbed him thrice in the Belly with a Dagger. [4] The *Saracens* in the Moſque immediately ruſhing upon him, he made a deſperate Defence, and ſtabbed thirteen of them, of whom ſeven died. At laſt, one that ſtood by, threw his Veſt over him, and ſeized him: He perceiving himſelf caught, ſtabbed himſelf. *Omar* lived three Days after it, and then died, in the Month *Du'lhagjah*, in the twenty third Year of the *Hegirah*; (which Year began on the eighteenth Day of *November*, in the Year of our Lord one hundred and forty three.[5]) after he had reigned ten Years, ſix Months, and eight Days, and was ſixty three Years old; which is the ſame Age, at which, according to ſome [6] Authors, *Mahomet*, *Abubeker*, and *Ayeſha*, *Mahomet*'s Wife died.

He was of a dark Complexion, very tall, and had a bald head. As to his Behaviour in the Government, the *Arabick* Authors give him an extraordinary Character. His Abſtinence from the Things of this Life, Piety and Gravity of

[4] *Ahmed Ebn Mohammed Ebn Abdi Rabbihi.* MS. Arab. Huntington Num. 554. [5] A. D. 643. [6] Hiſtory of the *Holy Land*, MS. Arab. Poc. Num. 362.

Be-

Behaviour, procured him more Reverence, than his Succeſſors could command by their Grandeur. His Walking-ſtick (ſays [7] *Alwákidi*) ſtruck more Terror into thoſe that were preſent, than another Man's Sword. His Diet was Barley-Bread; his Sauce, Salt; and oftentimes by way of Abſtinence and Mortification, he eat his Bread without Salt. His Drink was Water. He was a conſtant Obſerver of religious Duties; and in thoſe ten Years he reigned, went nine times on Pilgrimage to *Medinah*. His Adminiſtration of *Juſtice* was very impartial, his Ears being always open to the Complaints of the Meaneſt; nor could the Greatneſs of any Offender exempt him from Puniſhment. In his Deciſions he always kept punctually to the Senſe of the *Alcoran*, and the Traditions of *Mahomet*; in whoſe Time he gave a ſignal Proof of the Senſe he had of the Duty of Inferiors to their Governours, which was occaſioned thus. Omar.

[8] An obſtinate Muſleman had a Suit at Law with a *Jew* before *Mahomet*. The *Jew* being in the right, *Mahomet* pronounced Sentence againſt the *Muſleman*; who ſaid, *That he would not be ſo ſatisfyed, unleſs* Omar, *who was then only a private Man, had the rehearing and examining the Cauſe*. The Plaintiff and Defendant went both together to *Omar*; whom they

[7] *Alwákidi*. [8] *D'Herbelot* Bibliotheque Orientale.

found

Omar. found at his own Door and opening their Caſe, and acquainting him with the deciſion of it, deſired him to examine it again. *Omar* going into his own Houſe, bad them ſtay a Moment, and told them he would diſpatch their Buſineſs in a trice. Coming back, he brings his Cymiter along with him, and at one ſingle Stroke cuts off the *Muſleman*'s Head, that refuſed to be determined by *Mahomet*'s Deciſion; ſaying, with a loud Voice, *See what they deſerve, who will not acquieſce in the Determination of their Judges.* It was upon this Occaſion that *Mahomet*, informed of the Fact, gave him the Title or Sirname of *Farouk*; intimating, that *Omar* knew as well how to diſtinguiſh Truth from Falſhood, and Juſtice from Injuſtice, as he did to ſeparate the Head of that Knave from his Body.

The Conqueſts gained by the *Saracens* in his Reign were ſo conſiderable, that though they had never been extended any further, the Countries they had ſubdued would have made a very formidable Empire. He drove all the *Jews* and *Chriſtians* out of *Arabia*; ſubdued *Syria*, *Ægypt*, and other Territories in *Africa*; beſides the greateſt part of *Perſia*. And yet all this Greatneſs, which would have been too weighty for an ordinary Man to have born, eſpecially if we conſider, that it did not deſcend to them as an hereditary Poſſeſſion, for the ruling of which they

They had been prepared by a ſuitable Education, but was gotten all on a ſudden by Men that had been acquainted with nothing Great before, had no Effect upon the *Chaliph*; but he ſtill retained his old Way of Living: Nor did the Increaſe of his Riches ever appear by his Retinue or Expences. He built a Wall about *Cufa*, and repaired, or rebuilt rather, the Temples of *Jeruſalem* and *Medinah*. He was the firſt of the *Saracens*, that made Rolls to enter the Names of all that were in military Service, or that received any Stipend from the Publick. He firſt made uſe of the Date of the *Hegirah*; concerning which the Reader may ſee more in the [9] *Life of* Mahomet, which I ſhall not here tranſcribe. He was the firſt of them that forbad that any Woman, who had ever born a Child, ſhould be ſold for a Slave. The Author of the *Hiſtory of* Jeruſalem, abovementioned, adds, *That if he had nothing elſe to recommend him beſides his Taking* Jeruſalem, *and purging it from Idolatry, even that had been ſufficient.* Omar.

He never uſed to ſave any Money in the Treaſury, but divided it every *Friday* at Night amongſt his Men, according to their ſeveral Neceſſities. In which Particular, his Practice was preferable to *Abubeker*'s; for *Abubeker* uſed to proportion his Dividends to the Merit of the

9 Dr. *Prideaux*'s Life of *Mahomet*, pag. 76.

Perſons

Omar. Perſons that were to receive it; but *Omar* had regard only to their Neceſſities; ſaying, *That the Things of this World were given us by God for the Relief of our Neceſſities, and not for the Reward of Virtue; becauſe the proper Reward of that belonged to another World.*

OTHMAN.

OTHMAN EBN AFFAN,

Third *Caliph* after *MAHOMET.*

Othman.

IN the Space of thoſe three Days which *Omar* lived, after he had received his mortal Wound, his Friends came about him, ſollicit-ing him to make his Will, and name a Suc-ceſſor. To which he anſwered, That if *Salem* were alive, he ſhould approve of none ſo well as him. Then they named ſeveral to him, but he ſtill found ſome Fault or other with all they propoſed. Some recommended *Ali*, upon the Account of his near Relation to *Mahomet*; be-ſides his Valour and other Qualifications: But *Omar* did not think him ſerious enough for ſuch a weighty Charge. Then *Othman Ebn Affân* being named, *Omar* rejected him, as a Perſon too much inclined to favour his own Friends and Relations. When they perceived that it was

[1] *Hegirah* 23. Which Year beginning on the eighteenth of *November*, in the Year of our Lord 643. The greateſt part of it anſwers to the Year 644.

Othman. impoſſible for them to pitch upon any Perſon, againſt whom he would not make an Exception; they had good Reaſon to think, that this proceeded from a Deſire that his Son ſhould ſucceed him. But his Son being mentioned to him, he anſwered, *That it was enough for one in a Family, to have an Account to give of ſo weighty a Charge, as the Governing the Muſlemans was.* At laſt, when they could not perſwade him to name a Succeſſor, he appointed ſix Perſons, to whom he allowed three Days time to conſult about the Matter, after his Deceaſe. He ordered his Son to be preſent whilſt they debated, but gave him no Liberty of Voting, The ſix Commiſſioners were *Othman*, *Ali*, *Telhha*, *Azzobeir*,[2] *Abdo'rrahmân Ebn Auf*, and *Saed Ebn Abi Wakkâs*; All which had been the familiar Acquaintance and Companions of *Mahomet*, *Omar* being dead, they met to conſult; and *Abdo'rrahmân* ſaid, *That for his part he would willingly lay aſide all Pretenſions to it, provided they would agree to chuſe one of thoſe that were preſent.* All of them conſented to it but *Ali*, who thought himſelf injured, becauſe he

[2] *Abu'lpharagius*, inſtead of this *Abdo'rrahmân* puts in *Abu Obeidah*; but I have choſen rather to follow *Eutychius* and *Elmakin*; becauſe there are more Authors than one, who ſay poſitively that *Abu Obeidah* died of the Plague in *Syria*, in the eighteenth Year of the *Hegirah*.

was

was not the immediate Succeſſor of *Mahomet*, Othman.
At laſt he conſented too, after *Abdo'rrahmân* had ſworn to him, that he would neither vote for, nor favour any Man whatſoever that ſhould offer himſelf. *Abdo'rrahmân*, upon this, adviſes with the reſt, who inclining to *Othman Ebn Affân*, he was choſen *Caliph*, and inaugurated [3] three Days after *Omar*'s Death. *Abu'lpharagius* ſays, that *Abu Obeidah* (whom he puts in the Room of *Abdo'rrahmân*) came to *Ali*, and aſked him, *If he would take the Government upon him, upon Condition that he ſhould be obliged to adminiſter according to what was contained in the* Book of God, *The* Tradition *of his* Prophet, *and the Determination of two* Seniors. *Ali* anſwered, *That as for the* Book of God, *and the* Tradition *of his* Prophet, *he was contented; but he would not be obliged to be determined by the Conſtitutions of the Seniors.* The ſame Terms being offered to *Othman*, he embraced them without Exception, and was immediately choſen *Caliph*.

Being eſtabliſhed in the Government, he follows the Example of his Predeceſſors, and ſends his Forces abroad, to enlarge his Dominions.

[3] There is ſome Variety in the Accounts of the time of *Othman*'s Inauguration. Some ſay there was but one Day left of the laſt Month in the twenty-third Year of the *Hegirah*. Others ſay it was on the twentieth Day of the firſt Month (*Moharram*) of the twenty-fourth Year.

Othman. In a ſhort time *Maho'l Baſorah*, and what remained of the Borders of *Iſphahân* and *Raya* was taken; ſo that the poor *Perſian* King was now eaten up on all Sides, and had very little left him. The ſame Year that *Othman* was made *Caliph*, *Birah* and *Hamden* were taken, and *Moawiyah*, who was then Prefect of *Syria*, and afterwards *Caliph*, invaded the Territories of the *Grecian* Emperor, took a great many Towns, and waſted the Country.

We have obſerved before, that *Othman* was taken notice of, for being too much inclined to favour his Friends; Upon which Account *Omar* judged him unworthy to ſucceed him: Which Inclination now appeared plainly, when he had got the Government into his Hands, and was in a Capacity of obliging them. For notwithſtanding *Amrou Ebno'l Aâs* had done the *Saracens* ſuch ſingular Service, and added *Ægypt* to their Empire, yet *Othman* [1] depoſed him, and took away his Præfecture, or Lieutenancy of *Ægypt*, from him, without any juſt Reaſon at all that ever I could learn; but only becauſe he had a mind to prefer *Abdo'llah Ebn Saïd*, his Foſter-Brother, to a Place of ſuch Dignity and Profit: Than which, there could ſcarce be a greater Imprudence; for *Amrou*, having been a conſiderable time in *Ægypt*, had made both the

[1] A. H. 25., Oct. 27. A. D. 645.

Per-

Persons and the Customs of the *Ægyptians* familiar to him, and was very well beloved by them: Upon which Account, and his admirable Skill in military Affairs, he was, without doubt, the fittest Man for such a Charge, that the *Saracens* had. However, the Order of the *Caliph* must be obeyed; but it was not attended with very good Success. For *Constantine*, the *Grecian* Emperor, sent one *Manuel*, an Eunuch, with an Army, to retake *Alexandria*; which was accordingly performed by the Assistance of the *Greeks* in the City; who keeping secret Correspondence with the Emperor's Army, then at Sea, received them at their landing; and *Alexandria*, which *Amrou* had taken four Years before, was now once more in the Hands of the *Grecian* Emperor. And now it was evidently seen of what Use *Amrou* was in *Ægypt*. He was immediately restored to his former Dignity; for the *Ægyptians*, conscious to themselves of dealing treacherously with the Emperor, fearing, lest falling into the Hands of the *Grecians*, they should be punished according to their Deserts, humbly petitioned the *Caliph*, that they might have their old General *Amrou* restored, both upon the account of his being well acquainted with the State of that Kingdom, and his Experience in War. This was no sooner asked, than granted; the Exigency of Affairs indispensably Othman.

Othman. requiring it. *Amrou* being now in full Power, goes againſt *Alexandria* with his Army, in which were a great many *Cophties*, and among them the Traitor *Mokaukas*, whoſe Buſineſs it was to provide things neceſſary for the Army in their March. *Amrou* being come before *Alexandria*, found the *Greeks* in a good Poſture of Defence. They gave him Battle ſeveral Days together, and held out bravely. The Obſtinacy of their Defence provoked him ſo, that he ſwore, *If God gave him the Victory, he would pull down the Walls of the Town, and make it as eaſy of Acceſs as a Bawdy-houſe.* He was as good as his Word; for when he had taken the Town, which was not long after, he demoliſhed all the Walls and Fortifications, and entirely diſmantled it. However, he dealt very mercifully with the Inhabitants, and ſaved as many of their Lives as he could. And built a *Moſque* in that very Place, where he ſtayed the Fury of the *Saracens*, who were killing all they met; which *Moſque* was upon that Account called, [2] *The Moſque of Mercy*. *Manuel*, the *Grecian* Emperor's General, being quite routed, retired, with ſo many of his Men as he could carry off, to the Sea-ſhore: where weighing Anchor with all poſſible ſpeed, they hoiſted Sail, and returned to *Conſtantinople*. From that time, that moſt flouriſhing City, once the *Metropolis*

[2] *Arab. Jámi'orráhhmati.*

of

Ægypt, dwindled away and declined a-pace; Othman.
ſo that there is little belonging to it that is worth taking notice of, only a good Haven, and ſome Merchants Store-houſes.

3 About this time, *Moawiyah* invaded *Cyprus*, and agreed with the Inhabitants upon this Condition, That he ſhould ſhare the Revenues of that Iſland with the *Grecian* Emperor. So that the *Cyprians* were obliged to pay ſeven thouſand and two hundred Ducats every Year to *Moawiyah*, and the like Sum to the Emperor. The *Mahometans* enjoyed this Tribute near two Years, and were then diſpoſſeſſed by the Chriſtians.

The ſame Year that *Moawiyah* agreed with the *Cyprians*, *Othman* ſent *Abdo'llah Ebn Amir* and *Saïd Ebno'l Aâs* to invade *Chorâſan*; and, to encourage their Diligence, told them, *That which of them ſoever got thither firſt, ſhould have the Prefecture of that Territory.* They took a great many ſtrong Places, and ſo ſtreightened *Yazdejerd*, the *Perſian* King, that he was now ſo far from being able to meet the *Saracens* in open Field, that he was forced to ſhift about every way to ſave himſelf. And leſt any Misfortune ſhould be wanting to compleat his Ruin, he was at laſt betrayed by a treacherous Servant; an Unhappineſs which frequently happens to Princes in Diſtreſs: For thoſe who have any

3 *Hegirah* 27. Octob. 6. A.D. 647.

Othman. private Pique againſt them, take the Opportunity offered by their Misfortunes of being revenged: Others, hoping to ingratiate themſelves with the conquering Party, ſtick to do nothing that will oblige them, though to the utter Ruin of their former Maſters.

For *Yazdejerd*, diſtreſſed on every Side, called in *Tarchân*, the *Turk*, to his Aſſiſtance, who came accordingly with an Army. But their Stay was ſhort, for *Yazdejerd*, upon a frivolous Account, affronted *Tarchân*, and ſent him back again: Imprudently done in thoſe deſperate Circumſtances. He had acted a much wiſer Part, in putting up a great many little Affronts, rather than ſending away thoſe Allies, which he could not ſubſiſt without. *Mahwa*, a Perſon of Note, who had a ſpite againſt his Maſter *Yazdejerd*, takes the Advantage of the *Turk*'s Indignation, who highly reſented the Affront, and ſends to *Tarchân*, telling him, *That if he would home back and revenge the Affront, he would not be wanting to his Aſſiſtance.* Upon this *Tarchân* retuns; *Yazdejerd* meets him with the beſt Preparation he could make; but was beaten. In his Flight, the Traytor *Mahwa* ſets upon him, and quite deſtroys and diſperſes the ſhattered Remains of his Army which had eſcaped. *Yazdejerd* got off himſelf, and coming to a Mill, proffered the Miller his Belt, his Bracelets, and

his

his Ring: But this churliſh Brute, not conſi- Othman.
dering the Worth of the Things which were offered him, much leſs the Compaſſion which Humanity obliges us to ſhow to all in Diſtreſs, eſpecially our Princes, told him, *That he earned four Pieces of Silver with his Mill every Day, and if he would give him ſo much Money, he would let it ſtand ſtill upon his Account: If not, he would not.* Whilſt they were debating this Matter, a Party of Horſe, which were in ſearch of him, happened to come to this Place, where they found him, and killed him. He was the laſt King of the *Perſians*; and at the Beginning of his Reign, the *Perſian Aera*, or Date, which they uſe to this Day, Begins; which is from him called *Yazdejerdica*. Thus the *Perſian* Government was entirely deſtroyed, and all the Territories belonging to it fell into the Hands of the *Caliph*'s in the Thirty firſt Year of the [1]*Hegirah*, which began on the Twenty third Day of *Auguſt*, in the Year of our Lord 651.

OTHMAN, though a religious Man in his Way, and of a good Diſpoſition, was nevertheleſs very unfit for Government; for he did a great many very impolitick Things, which alienated the Minds of his Subjects from him, and gave Occaſion to his Enemies both to open their Mouths and take up Arms againſt him. The

[1] *Hegirah* 31. Aug. 23. A. D. 651.

firſt

Othman. firſt that we hear of, who began to make a Stir, and talk publickly againſt the *Caliph*, was one *Abúdar Alacádi*, who, in the 31ſt Year of the *Hegirah*, openly railed at him, and made it his Buſineſs to defame him. *Othman* took no other notice of it, than only to forbid him coming into his Preſence. Upon this, *Abúdar* goes into *Syria*, where he continued detracting from the *Caliph*, and aggravating every Thing that might be objected againſt him. *Moawiyah*, at that time Lieutenant of *Syria*, wrote to *Othman*; who thereupon ſent for *Abúdar* to *Medinah*,[4] and put him into Priſon; in which he continued till his Death, which was but the Year after.

But this was only the Beginning of Troubles to the *Caliph*; for the *Saracens* grew every Day worſe than other. Factious and uneaſy Spirits, when once they begin to diſturb any Government, never reſt till they be either entirely cruſhed themſelves, or elſe obtain their Ends.

[4] *Arab. Faráddaho'l Muréidah.* The Difficulty lies in the word *Muréidah: Erpenius* in his Tranſlation of *Elmakín* makes a proper Name of it; and ſo it muſt be read thus; *And ſent him to* Almureidah. But I very much doubt it; for I find no ſuch Place in the Dominions of the *Saracens*. I rather chuſe to read it, *Mérbadah* from *Rábada*, which ſignifies, *to bind*; or *reſtrain*; from whence *Mérbadah* will ſignify the Place of Reſtraint; *i. e.* a Priſon. This ſeems to me to be moſt agreeable to the Senſe of the Author, and I take the Liberty to recede from the common Reading, the rather becauſe *Erpenius* followed a very faulty Copy.

The

The murmuring encreaſed daily, and almoſt every Province in the Empire had ſomething or other to complain of, peculiar to it ſelf, beſides thoſe Grievances which were common to them all; ſo that in the [2] five and thirtieth Year of the *Hegirah*, all Things were in a Flame. Every Man's Mouth was full of grievous Accuſations againſt the *Caliph*, and Complaints of his Male-Adminiſtration. Thoſe Things which they principally laid to his Charge, were; "That he had recalled *Hhakem Ebno'l* "*Aâs* to *Medinah*, who had been baniſhed by "the Prophet, and had not been recalled by "either of his Predeceſſors, *Abubeker* or *Omar*. "That he removed *Saïd Ebn Abi Wakkâs* one "of thoſe ſix to whom *Omar* had committed "the Election of a *Caliph* from his Prefecture, "and put in another Man of ſcandalous Conver- "ſation, a Drinker of Wine, and notorious for "other Debaucheries. That he had been too "laviſh of the Publick Treaſure to his Friends, "and had given *Abdo'llah* four hundred thou- "ſand Ducats and *Hhakem* one hundred thou- "ſand. That he had removed *Amrou Ebno'l Aâs* "from the Lieutenancy of *Ægypt*, and put *Saïd* "*Ebn Abi Shárehh* into his Place." This *Saïd* had been one of thoſe that had helped to write the *Alcoran*, and afterwards apoſtatized and left

Othman.

[2] *Hegirah* 35. July 10. 655.

the

Othman. the Profeſſion of *Mahometaniſm:* Whereupon *Mahomet* reſolved to kill him when he took *Meccah*, which was in the eighth Year of the *Hegirah*; but at *Othman*'s Intreaty, ſpared his Life, and was content to baniſh him. "That "when he was firſt made *Caliph*, he preſumed "to ſit upon the uppermoſt part of the *Sug-* "*geſtum* or Pulpit, where *Mahomet* himſelf uſed "to ſit; whereas *Abubeker* always ſat one Step "lower, and *Omar* two." Theſe and a great many other things made the People murmur at him. At laſt, in a publick Aſſembly, he told them from the Pulpit, "That the Money which "was in the Treaſury was ſacred, and belong- "ed to God; and that he [as being the Succeſ- "ſor of the Prophet] would diſpoſe of it to "whomſoever he thought fit, in ſpight of them; "and threatened and curſed whoſoever ſhould "ſhow any Diſlike of what he had ſaid." *Ammâr Ebn Yaſer* declared that he diſliked it. Upon which *Othman* commanded him to be beaten, and immediately ſome that ſtood by, fell upon him, and beat him till he ſwooned. This ſort of Treatment ſo incenſed the *Arabs*, that they gathered together, took Arms, and encamped within a League of *Medinah*. From their Camp they ſent an inſolent Meſſage to the *Caliph*, demanding of him, either to do that which was right and juſt, (*i. e.* what they thought ſo) or elſe

elſe reſign the Government. The poor *Caliph* would now have done any thing with all his Heart, to have been at quiet. But this is obſervable, that the Riſings of ſeditious Subjects are not to be laid by complying with their Demands, for the more is granted by the Prince in ſuch Circumſtances, the more they crave. He goes into the Pulpit which was in the *Moſque* at *Medinah*, and there ſolemnly before the whole Congregation, calls God to witneſs, that he was heartily ſorry for what was paſt, and that he repented. But all to no purpoſe; for by this time all the Provinces were in an uproar, and the Strength of the Rebels encreaſed daily. There were few Provinces but what ſent ſome conſiderable Men, who met together at *Medinah*, to depoſe *Othman*: *Malec Aleſhtar* brought two hundred Men with him from *Cufa*; there came one hundred and fifty from *Baſora*; ſix hundred from *Ægypt*, all upon this Occaſion. The *Caliph* being now in great Perplexity, ſent *Mogeirah Ebn Shabah*, and *Amrou Ebno'l Aâs*, to treat with the Malecontents, and endeavour to perſwade them to be determined by the *Alcoran* and the *Sunnèt*; that is, the Traditions of *Mahomet*; but they had very little Thanks for their Pains, for the Rebels uſed them ſcurvily. Then he ſent *Ali* to them, (who ever ſince the Death of *Mahomet* had expected to be *Caliph*, and had a very

Othman.

Othman. very conſiderable Party) him they received with more Reverence, and he bound himſelf to ſee that all that *Othman* promiſed them ſhould be performed; and to make them the more eaſy, *Othman* and *Ali* ſet both their Hands to a Paper, in which they promiſed to remove the Cauſes of their Grievances. Then the *Ægyptians* demanded to have *Abdo'llah Ebn Saïd* removed from the Lieutenancy of *Ægypt*, and *Mohammed*, the Son of *Abubeker*, put in his Room: Which *Othman* readily complied with, and ſigned his Commiſſion. This Condeſcenſion of the *Caliph*, ſeemingly ſatisfied them pretty well; ſo that the Parties were diſſolved, and every Man returned to his own Country. The Storm ſeemed to be blown over, and any Man would have thought that the *Caliph* had no reaſon to doubt of going to the Grave in Peace. But what will not Treachery do? There was nothing omitted by the *Caliph*'s Enemies, which might foment theſe Prejudices in the People, that they had already conceived againſt him. *Ayeſha*, *Mahomet*'s Widow, was his mortal Enemy. Certainly it would much better have become one that pretended to have been the Wife of an inſpired Prophet, to have ſpent the Days of her Widowhood in Devotion and good Works, rather than in doing Miſchief, and embroiling the State. But ſhe was ſo prejudiced in Favour of *Telha* the

the Son of *Zobeir*, whom ſhe would fain have raiſed to the Dignity of *Caliph*, that no Conſideration of Goodneſs or Decency could hinder her from deſigning the Death of *Othman*. Another of his greateſt Enemies was *Mahomet*, *Abubeker's* Son, the ſame whom the *Ægyptians* had deſired for their Prefect. But none did him more harm than *Merwân Ebno'l Hhakem*, his Secretary, who may juſtly be looked upon as the principal Cauſe of his Ruin, which was occaſioned thus. Othman.

As the *Ægyptians* which were gathered together to depoſe *Othman*, were upon their Journey homewards from *Medinah*, with *Mahomet*, the Son of *Abubeker*, their new Lieutenant; they met with a Meſſenger carrying Letters from the *Caliph* to *Abdo'llah Ebn Saïd*, at that time Lieutenant of *Ægypt*. Him upon Examination they detained and opened his Letters; In which they found Orders given to *Abdo'llah* to this Effect. "As ſoon as *Mahomet*, "the Son of *Abubeker*, and *N.* and *N.* &c. "ſhall arrive in *Ægypt*, cut off their Hands "and Feet, and impale them. This Letter had *Othman's* Seal and Superſcription; the whole Buſineſs being managed by the Villany of the Secretary *Merwân*, who contrived this Letter himſelf, (as he had done many others to the *Caliph's* great Diſadvantage) and ordered it ſo as

it

Othman. it might fall into the Hands of the *Ægyptians*, on purpoſe to re-inflame the Difference which had, by the Care of *Ali*, and the Condeſcenſion of the *Caliph*, been in a great meaſure compoſed. It is no hard matter to gueſs how *Mahomet*, *Abubeker*'s Son, and the *Ægyptians* that were with him, were affected with this Letter. They were ſtark mad; and no ill Language, no Revenge, was thought ſufficient for him, that deſigned ſuch Cruelty to them. They immediately haſten back to *Medinah*, making large Speeches all the way, of the Treachery and Perfidiouſneſs of the *Caliph*, and how narrowly and accidently they had eſcaped ſo imminent a Danger. Such Stories as this ſeldom loſe any thing in the telling, eſpecially conſidering that the Wound was but juſt ſkinned over, and not healed; there being, beſides the Faction at Court, a great many diſaffected Perſons, who ſpared not to ſay the worſt of the *Caliph*: The News of the *Ægyptians* returning, flies immediately all over the Country; and how, if they had not accidentally intercepted *Othman*'s Letter to *Abdo'llah*, they muſt have ſuffered the utmoſt Cruelty. Upon this, all People unanimouſly deteſted the Perſon of the *Caliph*: And thoſe who had come before from *Cufa* and *Baſora*, and had returned upon the Accommodation that was made, were ſcarce got home, be-

before alarmed with this News, they came back again to aſſiſt the *Ægyptians* in the depoſing *Othman*. This Letter, they thought, excuſed whatſoever they did, and thoſe who did not believe that the *Caliph* wrote it, could make Uſe of that Pretence to vilify him, in order to gain their End. At laſt, they beſieged him in his own Houſe; He, in the mean time, proffering all manner of Satisfaction that could reaſonably be demanded, and declaring his Repentance for what he had done amiſs. But all in vain; they were reſolved to be revenged on him; who indeed had never intended them any Injury. When he perceived himſelf ſtreightened, he ſent to his Couſin *Ali*, and aſked him; "If "he had a Deſire to ſee his Couſin murthered, "and his own Kingdom rent in Pieces?" *Ali* anſwered, *By no means:* And upon this ſent his two Sons, *Haſan* and *Hoſein*, to defend him, and keep the Gate, that he might not ſuffer any Violence. I am verily perſwaded, that *Ali* did not mean any Harm to the Caliph; but, whether it was becauſe he had a Proſpect of ſucceeding him, and upon that account was loath to diſoblige the Muſlemans; who, he perceived, were altogether ſet againſt *Othman*, or for what other Reaſon, It is plain, that he did not aſſiſt him with that Vigour and Earneſtneſs which might otherwiſe have been expected. 'Tis true, Othman

Othman. he ſent *Haſan* and *Hoſein*; but they, when the Beſiegers had ſtreightened the *Caliph* for want of Water, left him to their Mercy. Then *Mahomet*, *Abubeker*'s Son, and *Ammar Ebn Yaſer* with ſeveral others, entered the Houſe, where they found the *Caliph* with the *Alcoran* in his Lap. They immediately fell upon him, and one of them wounded him in the Throat with a Dart: A ſecond ſtabbed him with his Sword. As ſoon as he fell, another ſat upon his Breaſt, and wounded him in nine Places. [5] Thus died *Othman*, the Third after *Mahomet*, when he was eighty two Years old, of which he had reigned near twelve. Authors differ concerning the time of his being beſieged in his Houſe; but it ſeems to have been about ſix Weeks. He lay unburied for three Days; at laſt he was removed, (by whoſe Order I find not) bloody as he was, and buryed in the ſame Cloaths he was killed in, without ſo much as being waſhed, or the leaſt Funeral Solemnity. A remarkable Inſtance of the Vanity of Human Greatneſs, and the Uncertainty of all worldly Felicity.

As to his Perſon, he was very tall, of a good Countenance, dark Complexion, and a large Beard. His way of living was commendable enough for a *Saracen*. He was very conſtant and diligent in performing religious Exerciſes;

[5] *Hegirah* 35. *July* 10. A.D. 655.

fre-

frequent in reading and meditating the *Alcoran*, and faſted very often. His Charity was very extenſive, his Riches very great. Though he was very hardly uſed, yet it muſt not be denied, that he had given ſome Occaſions for the People to think ill of him; which a Politick Governour would have avoided: For he was ſo much inclined to prefer his own Family and Friends, that he ſcarce ever conſidered their Merit. From whence this Inconvenience muſt neceſſarily follow, that a great many Men would at this rate be put into Places of the greateſt Truſt, which were no way qualified for the Diſcharge of their Duty; and if they did any thing amiſs, the *Caliph* who preferred them, was ſure to bear a great ſhare in the Reflections which were made. Beſides, through the Treachery of that Villain *Merwân*, his Secretary, a great many ill things were laid to his Charge; which he had no hand in. For it was a common thing with him to ſet *Othman*'s Seal to Letters, which oftentimes contained very ſcandalous Commands to Governours of Provinces; by which means the People were kept in an Averſion to him; and theſe Diſturbances being conſtantly fomented by his Enemies, they never ceaſed, till at laſt they deprived him both of Government and Life. Othman.

FINIS.

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